

WHY WE MUST AVOID

A
CIVIL WAR
IN
INDIA ?

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PREFACE

In politics, as well as in physics, action and reaction are equal and opposite. The Hindu hooligans in Bihar have reacted violently to the communal conflagration lit large in blood by the Muslim hooligans in Bengal. But in neither case has the sanguinary retaliation gone home, because only poor innocent Hindus have suffered in Bengal as the poor innocent Muslims have suffered in Bihar. In either case the people who have paid the price of rank communalism are blood of our blood and the bone of our bone. Mother India is poorer by the loss of these sturdy children.

The roseate horizon of Indian independence is over-shadowed with the dark clouds of a civil war. The Great Communal Killing has squeezed the blood out of young hopes of the freedom-fighters. Are the threats of fiery fascists to be materialised?

The British imperialists have always pursued the notorious policy of divide-and-rule in India. A civil war is the culmination of divide *et imperia*. Nothing will please the British more than that Hindus and Muslims should cut the throats of one another and leave the slate clean for the imperialists to write upon. Shall we play into the hands of our master?

In this book an effort has been made to show that no genuine grounds exist in India for a civil war. The Hindu-Muslim differences are not irreconcilable. There is much common ground between the two communities and communalism is only the product of interested politicians who want to exploit the poor and ignorant masses to feather their own nests.

The book has been divided into three sections. The first part comprises the recent political moves hedged round the Great Calcutta Killing which has caused a deep consternation in the heart of every patriot and peace loving citizen. In the second section a scientific study has been made of the communal problems and a popular solution has been offered within the reach of every man and woman who has the welfare of his motherland at his or her heart. In the third section have been brought out ideological differences between Gandhi and Jinnah, Congress and League, Hindustan and Pakistan, Hinduism and Islam. It will be found that the differences can be easily bridged over if we are prepared to accommodate each other. If we differ so much that we cannot agree, let us at least agree to differ.

The wounds of India will be cured in India. The problems of ours will be solved by our efforts. No number of pilgrimages undertaken by Jinnahs and Jawaharlals to the shores of Thames will bring us the holy water that will quench the thirst of the masses of India. Mutual understanding of the common people will alone dig for us the elixir of freedom out of the stony earth of Hindustan. Therefore let us gird up our loins, roll up our sleeves and work for communal harmony. Our struggle for freedom has got jumbled up with communalism and consequently we must fight at both the fronts. Fraternity will bring freedom as surely as freedom will create fraternity.

LAHORE

T S

December 8 1946

To use violence for securing rights may seem an easy path, but it proves to be thorny in the long run. Those who live by the sword die also by the sword. The swimmer often dies by drowning.

Mahatma Gandhi

THIRD SECTION

MUST THERE BE A CIVIL WAR ?	125
CHAPTER I Gandhi and Jinnah	127
1. Political Friendship	
2. Jinnah Advises Gandhi	
3. Gandhi Advises Jinnah	
4. Exit the Both	
CHAPTER II Congress and League	138
1. Popular Influence	
2. Careerism	
3. League-Congress Differences	
4. Separate Electorates	
CHAPTER III Hindustan and Pakistan	151
1. From Unity to Disunity	
2. Hindu Raj and Muslim Raj	
3. Pakistan Means Disaster	
4. Important Questions	
5. Muslim League Fascism	
6. Why Pakistan and why not ?	
CHAPTER IV Hinduism and Islam	178
1. Religion and Politics	
2. Hindu Muslim Unity Scheme	
3. Islam and Human Brotherhood	
4. Message of Guru Nanak	

FIRST SECTION

Will there be a Civil War?

CHAPTER I

THE GREAT CALCUTTA KILLING

Will there be a civil war in India ? Shall we be so foolish as to kill our countrymen ? Will a Hindu brother and a Muslim brother cut the throat of each other ? Shall we be so silly as to kill our kith and kin for the tamasha of the British imperialists ? Does our religion teach us to murder our time-honoured neighbours ? Shall we destroy ourselves so that the foreigners may inherit our hearths and homes ? Do not the Hindu and the Muslim belong to the same race ? Are we not the sons and daughters of the same soil ?

The threat of civil war is the burning problem of today. The Great Calcutta Killing has sent a wave of horror down the spine of every Indian throughout the length and breadth of the country. The peace-loving peasants whisper to each other, 'Is civil war really coming ?'

The Calcutta massacre has been rightly called the 'civil war rehearsal'. The League leaders have openly praised their success in the creation of distur-

bances as a protest against the Congress, and thereby they, have¹ held a pistol to the breast of many peace loving² citizens — and there are millions of them both, Hindus and Muslims — who do not belong to any³ political party at all. It is happy to note that Jinnah⁴ has condemned hooliganism but he has tried to give a clean sheet to the Bengal Muslim League Ministry (who may fairly be held responsible for the blood bath

1

JINNAH CONDEMNS HOOLIGANISM

On August 17 1946 immediately upon hearing about the riots in Calcutta, Mr Jinnah condemned hooliganism with a pinch of salt

I unreservedly condemn the acts of violence and deeply sympathise with those who have suffered said Mr M A Jinnah. At present I do not know who is responsible for the resultant loss of life and property, which has been reported in the press

'I have no official report from any quarter — either the provincial Muslim League Executive or the Government of Bengal

Those who are guilty of resorting to indefensible conduct and hooliganism must be dealt with according to law, as their actions were (so far as the Muslim League is concerned) contrary to expressed instructions and they have only played into the hands of

enemies of the Muslim League

"It may be the action of agents provocateur. I do not believe that any Muslim Leaguer would have taken part in using any violence, but, if any have broken the strict and solemn instructions to conduct themselves peacefully, I have no doubt in my mind that the Provincial Muslim League will not fail to take immediate action against them.

'I await the authoritative reports before I can say anything further.'

Mr. Jinnah said that the news-papers had contained reports of unarmed Muslim Leaguers going to the affected areas and helping to restore order

2

CO-OPERATION OR SURRENDER ?

Mr Jinnah refused to offer a hand of co-operation to Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru in the formation of the Interim Government. On the other hand, he mistook the friendly offer for an invitation to surrender. He said in a statement issued from Bombay on August 18, 1946 —

"Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru would have been nearer the truth if, instead of saying that there was lack of co-operation from the Muslim League, he had said that the Muslim League was not prepared to surrender and it would have been still more true if, instead of saying that the Congress doors of co-

nominees including one Muslim of their choice that this Cabinet would be responsible only to the present Central Legislative Assembly where I may point out the Congress has got at least three votes against one of the Muslim League and further that the Viceroy would be the constitutional Governor-General and must not exercise his veto Nor should any other external authority interfere with this Cabinet It was not that he was forming the Executive Council of the Governor-General under the framework of the present constitution but the Government so formed would be a provisional National Government This was the plan he disclosed to me and it was obvious that I should possibly accept such a proposal because after that there would remain nothing to talk about the Muslim demand and our goal of Pakistan

From what he has announced in his press conference I gather that his position is more or less the same In his press conference which was very long-drawn he has said many things but I do not propose to controvert all the details and shall deal only with the main points

He is reported to have said that almost all others were willing to co-operate with the Congress except the Muslim League. Who are the others ? The Sikhs have changed four times already and the fifth time it may be our good luck and they may become our friends. Even their last decision as Master Tara Singh explained was not unanimous and the leader of the Akali party was himself opposed

to it but it was a compromise for the particular purpose of wrecking the Group "B" with the help of the Congress which the latter has promised. The Scheduled Castes, who, I am sorry to say, have been let down by the Viceroy, are furiously opposed to the Congress and the Christian organisation is certainly not with the Congress nor are the Anglo-Indians or the Parsis. It is only the Caste Hindu Fascist Congress and their few individual henchmen of other communities who want to be installed in power and authority of the Government of India to dominate and rule over the Mussalmans and other minority communities of India with the aid of British bayonets. When he was asked if the Muslim League resorted to direct action when power is handed over to the Congress what would be the attitude of the Congress, Pandit Nehru replied making it clear, that they would crush the Muslim League or, if they fail, the Government would go down. When he says that the League will be crushed if we resort to direct action he talks with confidence, for he relies upon the shelter and support of the baton of Field Marshal Wavell.

"It cannot be said with any qualm of conscience" says Mr Jinnah, 'that the minority has placed a veto on the advance of the majority community. For we have accepted the considered final proposals of the Mission and the Viceroy both with regard to long-term and the Interim Government — although they were not quite satisfactory to us — and it is the

Congress that has rejected them both by their veto and intransigent attitude. Now the question is whether this majority is going to be installed in power on its own terms by the British Government to rule the Mussalmans and the minorities with the help of British blood and treasure? It is inconceivable that Mr. Attlee the Prime Minister could have ever meant this — the forcing of any such arrangement upon the Muslims and others which must and would result in unprecedented and most dangerous and disastrous consequences.

‘In his press conference Pandit Nehru has not failed to give his oft repeated threat even while he is seeking our co operation he said They (Congress must do their utmost not only to keep the Congress organisation going but must strengthen it widen it and make it more disciplined and ready for action when action might be necessary They would have to consider how the organisation should adapt itself to the changing circumstances so that it might not come into conflict and yet at the same time retain its revolutionary outlook

He has again repeated that they were going to the Constituent Assembly to achieve their objective and that it was only a step in that direction and if anything came in their way they will abandon it. He considers that the swift limb of the Congress should not be shackled to the halt and the lame by which latter expression I presume he means the Muslim League. Why then does the swift limb want

to make alliance with the British imperialism and depend upon British bayonets ? Is it to enable them to crush the Muslim League ? Why cannot they stand on their own ?

“Having laid down the policy of his future Government of India as regards the Muslim League, Pandit Nehru indulges further in declarations of his policy and formulates principles as to how they will proceed with regard to the Indian states and how they will be treated and the policy of his Government of India with regard to other countries and the general international and foreign relations without any reference to the Muslim League

“This is the tenor, tone and temper of the pronouncement of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru displayed in the course of his press conference immediately after his interview with me when he came to seek my co-operation. He says our talk did not bring the Congress and the Muslim League any nearer one another. How can it ?” concludes Mr Jinnah

4

CIVIL WAR REHEARSAL

While the aristocratic League leaders were exchanging hot words with the nationalists, poor Muslim citizens of Calcutta were thrown into the battle against the Hindus Poor Muslims who were made instruments of League landlords hardly understood

the cause for which they were dying Calcutta was given the gruesome blood-bath Over three thousand men were maimed and mangled Most of the people who were made to kill each other belonged to poor population of Hindus as well as Muslims Rich people who fell victim to the mob fury were hardly one per cent This is another lesson for the poor people Hindus as well as Muslims to read in the sanguinary book of Calcutta

That is how the League Direct Action Day has been celebrated in the metropolis of the would be north-eastern Pakistan The 16th of August was declared a holiday by the Bengal League Government It is beyond our comprehension how any Government can close its offices in the interests of a particular party—the party in power This means that the League is using the governmental machinery to raise itself to the position of an irremovable Government. This is undiluted Fascism When Jinnahian direct action is in full swing we may witness the monstrous paradox of the League Law and Order Minister spitting at law and order kicking them into the gutter While Calcutta was burning the League Premier Mr Suhrawardy was complacently declaring that situation was improving it is this gentleman who menacingly declared the other day that he would cut the painter and proclaim the independence of Bengal How can the situation improve under the premiership of a man with such a fanatical psychology ? The Calcutta disturbances have more than one alarming

feature Concentrated attacks were made on the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee office, the residence of the leader of the Opposition in the Assembly, Mr. Kiran Shanker Roy, was besieged, the Whip of the Congress Assembly Party was assaulted and the house of the well-known Congress leader, Dr. B. C. Roy—though for some time he has not been in active political life—was set ablaze Does it not look like a civil war rehearsal ?

Many highly placed Muslim Leaguers have cast restraint to the four winds, unbridled their fiery tongues and let loose hell If there is not an India-wide sanguinary civil war to-day it is not their fault "Pakistan can only be achieved," yelled Mr. Nishtar at a Peshawar meeting "through the shedding of blood by ourselves and if need be and opportunity arose by the shedding of blood of others. Mussalmans are no believers in the creed of Ahimsa." This highly inflammatory speech, inciting the Pathans to violence, has been made by Mr. Nishtar at the hub of the Frontier and if there is no conflagration there, it is due to the domination of the situation by the towering personalities of the Khan Brothers In the Punjab also there has been plenty of fire-emitting. The Austrian-born wife of Sir Feroz Khan Noon has in a fit of Islamic fervour out-Nooned Noon and while announcing that the Leaguers would not hesitate to sacrifice themselves and even their children raved : 'Your enemies are ready? Are you ready too ?' Where are the enemies and where is the

necessity of anybody being ready? If the Muslim masses were not immersed in ignorance and steeped in fanaticism such utterances might have been laughed away. But unfortunately inflammable material lies scattered everywhere—at every street corner there is a powder keg and from communal fireworks sparks are flying about dangerously.

In Sind there has been a sustained and organised endeavour to encourage and egg on the forces of lawlessness to establish their sway. This endeavour has been strengthened by some of the League Ministers' violent speeches. Only the other day the Home Minister Mir Ghulam Ali said that the Muslim League had declared a holy war against the enemies of the Muslim nation the Congress and the British and anybody opposing them in the pursuit of their objective would be destroyed and exterminated. And the Revenue Minister Pir Ilahi Bux fulminated. We shall wreak vengeance on the Hindus and the British. There is indeed no abatement in the furious volubility of the Pir. Speaking on the Direct Action Day at a meeting at Karachi the Pir referred to the Bengal Premier's declaration that he would raise the standard of independent Bengal and declared that Sind would follow Bengal's example. Before the Sind League Ministry tries to tear Sind away from India it must face the legislators—the representatives of the people. It must face them even on the issue of the declaration of the 16th August as a holiday for

the advancement of a bellicose programme of Muslim Fascists. Not only the Sind League Ministry but also the Bengal League Ministry should be made to confront the Assembly. Both the Governors of Sind and Bengal should summon the Legislatures at once. A regular civil war rehearsal seems to be in progress. When an unprecedented crisis is developing it is absolutely essential that the people's representatives should meet to decide how to avert it. The Ramzan excuse may again be trotted out. But it should be rejected as lame.

If the League rank and file can go about looting sweetmeat shops, burning houses and killing men during the Ramzan without offending Islam, surely the League leadership can attend meetings of Assemblies during this time without incurring the wrath of Allah. Oh ! how religious festivals have been used as a shield to protect most frightful evils and as a weapon to make them victorious ! Reason has been expelled from human life and men have been converted into ferocious beasts tearing one another and proudly displaying their gory teeth and claws. Three days before the Calcutta blood-bath became a terrifying tangible reality news-hawks had a hazy vision of what was to come. "Parades with military discipline" said a Free Press of India Correspondent on Aug. 13. "are taking place late in the night in some of the parks of the city and religious frenzy is being aroused " He added : "men are being reminded that now is Ramzan and it was

during Ramzan that the Quran was revealed. It was in Ramzan that permission for Jihad (meaning Holy War) was granted by the Allah. It was in Ramzan that the battle of Badr the first open conflict between Islam and Heathenism was fought and won and again it was in Ramzan that 10 000 Muslims under the holy Prophet conquered Mecca and established the Kingdom of Heaven and the Commonwealth of Islam in Arabia. If the world can be turned upside down during the Ramzan why cannot the Sind and Bengal Assemblies be held? Indeed the civil war question is not only a question for the people of Sind and Bengal to consider. Look at the brimstone and gall plastered pages of *Dawn*—how we wish its editor had not dragged the universally respected Quran into filthy politics—and you will be convinced that it is an all India question. Without any further delay the people's representatives should assume the reins of administration at the Centre—the Viceroy should facilitate it—and prevent the civil war drama that is sought to be enacted in a systematic manner on a country wide scale from going beyond the stage of rehearsal. If in order to be reborn as a completely united and free nation the Indian nation has to undergo the agony of an unparalleled civil war it will undergo it without wincing. But an all out effort must be made to enable it to have an almost painless rebirth.

MUSLIM LEAGUE MUDDLE

Whatever arguments may be offered for and against the Direct Action policy of the Muslim League, it cannot escape the responsibility of the Great Calcutta Killing.

Calcutta is burnt and blistered and stabbed and from its thousand gaping wounds blood is gushing forth—making men, not devoid of feeling hearts, and sensitive souls shudder and pray for the re-establishment of sanity not only in Bengal but all over the country.

From utterances of such Leaguers as Qazi Mohammad Isa, which have evoked protests even from Anglo-Indian journals, it appears that there is a feverish competition in venom-spitting. If Delhi, Karachi and Peshawar have escaped the terrible fate that has overtaken Calcutta and are not enveloped in flames, that is so in spite of League Jihadists. The League Qoid-i-Azam has shed crocodile tears to quench the fire that is consuming Calcutta. How can it be quenched with crocodile tears? "I deeply sympathise with those who have suffered," he says. And in the same breath he observes, "It may be the action of agents provocateur. I do not believe that any Muslim Leaguer would have taken part in using any violence, but....."

Yes, it is not Muslim Leaguers but Nationlist Muslims and Hindus and Sikhs who have repeatedly attacked the Provincial Congress Committee set fire to Dr B C Roy's house besieged Mr Kiran Shanker Roy's residence stabbed his son-in-law, assaulted the Chief Whip of the Congress Party, tried to set fire to the paper godown of a pro-Congress journal, attacked the office of the 'Statesman', which has been critical of the League's warlike policy, thrown men into the Ganges from the Howrah Bridge burnt fifty boats generally belonging to the Hindus, plundered a Kali temple and removed silver and gold! Again it is not as a result of organised arson and murder and loot by League fanatics but as a result of the action of agents provocateur that more than two thousand people have met a ghastly end, more than three thousand persons have lost their limbs or sustained injuries and innumerable houses and shops have suffered serious damage. We called the Calcutta flare up a civil war rehearsal. It has indeed all the blood curdling aspects of a regular civil war. The Statesman says 'Rioters moved about in lorries which they had been provided for in advance and according to a United Press message virtual extermination raids on the minority community in Mohallas have become current and reports everywhere speak of merciless slaughtering of innocent men, women and children' Vultures and carrion kites are swooping down and feeding on dead bodies lying scattered in streets or on pavements!

One rubs one's eyes in heartbreaking bewilderment: Has the Bengal League Ministry really succeeded in destroying all constitutionalism — did not the League High Command boast at Bombay that it had said goodbye to constitutionalism for ever — and allowing communal anarchy to prevail? Where is the 1935 Constitution? Where is the Governor? Where is the Governor-General?

6

THE BLOODY SLAUGHTER-HOUSE

Here is an interesting comment from the Tribune dated August 23, 1946. The Tribune has written vigorously on the Calcutta riots and it has already been quoted. the editor writes .

The happenings in Calcutta are reminiscent of the happenings of the days of Mahmud Ghaznavi and Mohammed Ghorī — and of those of Nadir Shah. Regular massacres, in which no pity has been shown even to helpless women and innocent children, have been enacted. A temple has been desecrated and looted. Terror-stricken Hindu families living in the Vicinity of Muslim quarters made piteous appeals to roving newspaper observers whom they happened to meet urging them to remove them to safe places. There was often a heavy trek of terrified and distressed men and women to the railway station. Thousands anxious to escape from the bloody slaughter-house

into which Calcutta had been converted collected at it with whatever belongings they could carry. A city in which about 3,000 persons had been killed and 10,000 maimed and mangled and whose streets and roads were littered with mutilated and stinking dead bodies, into which vultures and crows dug their dirty peaks and on which swarms of flies flew with a disgusting hum was hardly a place where human beings could continue to live. It would seem surprising that the evacuation was not more extensive and intensive. To quote the Statesman whom League malice itself cannot accuse of indulging in panicky exaggeration:

Calcutta is like a town that has just known a heavy air raid. On all sides are death, injury, destruction. Houses have been destroyed with men, women and children in them. Men have returned home in the evening to find neither wife nor children. The homeless are lying about unsheltered and starving along the streets in any open place wherever they can find room or a little hospitality. Some who gave shelter to the homeless have been dragged out and bludgeoned for doing it. In all the hospitals the injured lie crowded on beds, floors, even in the open. Thousand are brutally hurt. There are smashed jaws, burst eyes, fractured limbs — crippled men and woman and children. The harrowing tale of the burning of 150 men and women and children alive in the village of Bhawanipur near Calcutta given by the United Press of America, partially eclipses the horrible account of the Calcutta butchery and

carnage A bonfire was lit and as its fearful flames leapt up the 15) struggling and screaming victims were consigned to it mercilessly by communal maniacs. Even Mahmud Ghaznavi and Mohammed Ghor and Nadir Shah were not guilty of such satanic deeds. All previous communal conflagrations pale into insignificance before this conflagration. But it is heartlessly and shamelessly argued in certain quarters that the regime under which the beast in man has appeared in the open and thrust its teeth deep into the heart of Bengal making the province bleed as it has never bled in recent history should continue-

7

THE REIGN OF TERROR

Here is an other illuminating comment in the Tribune dated August 53, 1946 -

Nadirshahi at its worst could not have been worse than the ghoulish and sadistic acts of Pakistanist fanatics in Bengal. The desecration and devastation of temples looked like pardonable pranks in the face of what the frenzied Jehadists did to defenceless women and children. They celebrated the hypothetical declaration of Bengal's independence made by the pompous League Premier, Mr. Suhrawardy, by raping women including girl of tender age and dashing children to the ground and smashing their bones and skulls and cutting off the breasts of women and

decorating their proud chests with fleshy breast garlands. Could sadism go any further? Screams of women and children, bleeding and dying under the butcher's knife like cries in the wilderness to which often even police contingents passing close by would turn a deaf ear. For many families their houses became funeral pyres. Hostels were broken into—even girls' hostels—and their inmates butchered. Marauders and assassins' bloody imagination took terrible flights; these devils used boiling water and oil to kill their victims to death in a hideous manner. They sometimes roasted men alive. They dragged wounded persons who with medical aid could survive through the streets and roads, little caring for their pathetic groans, and sometimes flung them from the bridge into the Ganges. On the pavements and walls of Calcutta is written in letters of blood the horrible meaning of Pakistan. These pavements and walls, which have seen infernal communal forces indulging in an orgy of arson and eating human flesh and drinking human blood with such freedom as can be born only out of the feeling that the Muslim League regime is practically their own regime, cry for the immediate termination of this regime. Bengal prays and with it prays the entire country that never again should the province have such a hellish regime.

CHAPTER II

GOODBYE TO CONSTITUTIONALISM

Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the eminent lawyer, has chosen to bid goodbye to constitutionalism. More and more he has led himself to adopt an inflexible attitude. Standing upon the high Malabar Hill, he has refused to have any deal with the denizens of the earth. He has refused Sardar Patel's offer of an arbitration.

1

ARBITRATION NOT ACCEPTABLE

On August 5, 1946, Mr. M. A. Jinnah stated that the suggestion to refer the League's Case to an arbitration was unacceptable to him.

The proposal, Mr. Jinnah said, was made to "impress the ignorant public here and abroad that the Congress is so reasonable and conciliatory, but the Muslim League is intransigent." The Muslim demand for Pakistan was based on the right of self-determina-

tion Mr Jinnah reiterated that the Congress had rejected the long term proposals and that its acceptance was no acceptance at all

Mr Jinnah said We know what is the objective and purpose of the Congress. The Congress believes that they have secured a declaration from the British Government of complete independence of India outside the Commonwealth of Nations and that this constitution making machinery should be turned into a sovereign body and the only thing for them now remains is to frame a constitution on the basis of a strong united Indian Federal Government with vital powers and subjects such as defence, foreign affairs, communications, customs, finance, commerce, planning, industry and tariff and further with power to step in if a constitution of any Provincial Government was not working according to their conception

Mr Patel says The League and the Congress pull in opposite directions. One wants to divide India into Pakistan and Hindustan while the other yearns for a united India. But when we demand Pakistan and division of India into Hindustan and Pakistan our scheme gives freedom and independence to both the major nations—the Hindus and the Muslims—whereas the Congress and Mr Patel are adamant and wish to establish a united India with a strong federal central Government which means that 100 million Muslims are to be brought under the yoke of caste Hindu majority

SACK CLOTH AND ASHES

Having declared that we stand poles asunder Mr. Patel advises me that I should change my approach and cease to be a Communalist and become a nationalist—I suppose he means a Congress nationalist and accept that the Congress represents all Indians on the imaginary footing that India was one country and one nation. Congress is nothing but a caste-Hindu organisation. But his advice that I should become a nationalist and cease to be a communalist means nothing except that I should appear before him in sack cloth and ashes

Mr. Patel is speaking in terms of contradiction. On the one hand he says there is no meeting ground and coalition is impossible, as we are pole asunder, but on the other he says that the Congress had gone to my door a hundred times.

DEFLATED CYCLE TUBE

The truth is that three times, in the course of the last eight years, Mr. Gandhi came to me with a view to persuade me to accept the Congress demand which I could not. Does Mr. Patel want me to go to the Congress to persuade them to accept the Pakistan demand of the Muslims which he characterised in his speech as a “deflated cycle tube”

“This sort of talk is really intended to poison the mind of the Hindus and Mr. Patel is only suffering from inferiority complex.

Mr. Patel makes a passionate appeal; after having

made it clear that there was no meeting ground and invites me to sit with the Congress as brothers and join them to break the statement of the Mission. Well we have already torn up the statement of May 16. He doubts our desire for freedom when he says that we should join hands with the Congress if we are keen upon freedom. And finally he says: When we have sat as brothers and if there is no agreement possible, let the matter be referred to arbitration and let us abide by the award of the arbitrator.

This proposal is made again to press the ignorant public here and abroad that the Congress is so reasonable and so conciliatory but the Muslim League is intransigent. Mr. Patel knows perfectly well and I have pointed out more than once that the demand for Pakistan is based on the right of self-determination of the Muslims which is their birthright. It is absurd to say that this matter particularly be referred to arbitration. Even on practical ground who will select the arbitrator and who will enforce the award? No country can run its government unless its constitution is framed by the willing consent of the people concerned. Mr. Patel knows better than anybody else that his proposal could not be accepted both on grounds of principle and as a practical proposition.

SELF DEFENCE

Mr. Patel has now become the champion of the British whom he says I have traduced and complained that I have abused the Congress. He does not specify

what he means by abuses I have certainly attacked and criticised the Congress and charged them with disrupting the Muslims and have exposed their false claim that they represent all-India including the Muslims, which Certainly is not true. All my attacks and criticism have been in self-defence against the most aggressive and arrogant attitude of the Congress.

The Tribune has commented upon Jinnah's statement as follows :

It is apparently impossible for any Congress leader to have a talk, nothing to say of a controversy, with Mr. Jinnah without being greeted with some offensive or acrid remarks. The habit of abusing Congressmen has become the League Fuehrer's second nature; naturally he can never detect the repugnant flaw in his conduct. In the rejoinder, which he has issued to meet the points raised by Sardar Patel in his reply to the League dictator's abusive Bombay statement, Mr. Jinnah has contended that whatever he said was quite unobjectionable and was said in self-defence. Commenting on his speech we drew up a catalogue of the choicest epithets he had used we definitely maintain that a perusal of that catalogue will convince any professor of invectives that in the art of mud-slinging Mr Jinnah can never be beaten. In his rejoinder itself he has offered a gratuitous insult to Sardar Patel. He has declared that the Sardar is suffering from inferiority complex. Now the world knows that inferiority complex is the last thing from which the Sardar can suffer. Indeed the boot is on

the other leg. It is Mr Jinnah who is suffering from that psychological disease. Nothing is a more convincing proof of this than the fact that he has not shown to Congress leaders the courtesy of paying them return visits—even once. He is always strutting about on his artificial political stilts claiming that he is a superman. The artificial political stilts show that he is nothing of the kind. His rejoinder does not possess the slightest trace of constructive statesmanship. One looks in vain in it for sweet reasonableness or even for helpful logic. It contains old shibboleths and exploded theories; it asserts that the Hindus and the Muslims are two disparate nations and the League will neither have rest nor give rest to others unless and until it has split up India and established a sovereign Pakistan. Mr Jinnah has contemptuously treated Sardar Patel's suggestion that the Congress representatives and Muslim League representatives should sit down like brothers to discuss things—he has for the millionth time denounced the Congress as a Caste Hindu ridden organisation—and summarily rejected his suggestion that in the event of their unfortunate failure to evolve an acceptable formula they should refer the whole matter to arbitration. Mr Jinnah is obviously not prepared to accept even God's arbitration. He insists that his dictation should be accepted readily and fully by everybody. He has undeniably created a situation in which he must be ignored unhesitatingly and completely by the architects of to-morrow's India.

JINNAH HITS WAVELL

The following is the text of Mr. Jinnah's statement.-

"My reaction to the Viceroy's broadcast is that he has struck a severe blow to the Muslim League and Muslim India, but I am sure that Mussalmans of India will bear this up with fortitude and courage and learn lessons from our failure to secure our just and honourable position in the interim Government and the Constituent Assembly. I once more repeat my question: Why has the Viceroy gone back on what was announced in the statement of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy on June 16 as final, and the assurances given to the Muslim League in his letter dated June 20? What had happened between June 16 and July 22 that he was pleased to change that formula vitally and substantially, and what has happened between July 22 and August 24 that he has gone ahead and jammed in a one-party Government?"

"He says in his broadcast that he was addressing those who advised him that this step should not have been taken in this way or at this time. I was one of those unfortunate persons, and I still maintain that the step that he has taken is most unwise and unstatesmanlike and is fraught with dangerous and serious consequences and he has only added insult to injury by nominating three Muslims, who, he knows,

do not command either respect or confidence of Muslim India and two more Muslim names still remain to be announced

'He is still harping that we are not opposed to the main policy of His Majesty's Government to fulfil their pledges by making India free to follow her own destiny. Of course, we are not opposed to the freedom of the peoples of India and we have made it clear that the only solution of India's problem is a division of India into Pakistan and Hindustan which would mean real freedom for the two major nations and every possible safeguard for the minorities in the respective states

I am sorer than the Viceroy is about his failure to secure a coalition government but my sorrow springs from a different fountain and for different reasons from those of his. I am glad that the Viceroy realises that what is needed is a coalition government in which both the main parties are represented and I am glad that he is also speaking on behalf of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the Congress that they hold this view as strongly as he does and that their efforts will still be directed to persuade the League to join the Government. I don't know what the Viceroy means when he says, in his broadcast, of his offer, that has been made and which is still open. It is so vague except that the Muslim League will have five seats. Nothing else is clearly stated.

"He has referred to many other things into which I need not go at present. As regards the Consti

again let me remind you that assurances have been given to the League that the procedure laid down in the statement of May 16 regarding the framing of provincial and group constitutions will be faithfully adhered to.' It is not a procedure, it is fundamental and basic. The question is whether it can be changed in any way whatsoever. Then he proceeds to say that there can be no question of any change in the fundamental principles proposed for the Constituent Assembly in Paragraph 15 of the statement of May 16 and he echoes that the Congress is ready to agree that any dispute or interpretation may be referred to the Federal Court. But how can we expect an agreement on the terms and fundamentals of the statement of May 16 when one party puts one interpretation contrary to the authoritative statement of the Mission, dated May 25 and the other party puts a different interpretation which is more in accord with the statement of May 25? But he complacently goes on to say that any dispute or interpretation may be referred to the Federal Court. To begin with, there is no provision for such a dispute being referred to the Federal Court and secondly on the 'very threshold, the parties fundamentally differ in their interpretations regarding the basic terms. Are we going to commence the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly with litigation and law suits in the Federal Court? Is this the spirit in which the future constitution can be framed affecting 400 million people of this sub-continent?

"If the Viceroy's appeal is really sincere and if

he in earnest, he should translate it into concrete proposals by his deed and actions —

Following the announcement about the formation of the interim Government and the Viceroy's broadcast, Mr M A Jinnah President of the All India Muslim League has released the correspondence that passed between him and the Viceroy between July 22 and August 8. In a statement releasing the correspondence Mr M A Jinnah says

'It is to be regretted that the Viceroy in his broadcast last night, should have made such a misleading statement, contrary to facts that though five seats out of 14 were offered to the Muslim League though assurances were given that the scheme of constitution making would be worked in accordance with the procedure laid down and though the new interim Government is to operate under the existing constitution, it has not been possible to secure a coalition

GRAVE SITUATION

The truth is that the Viceroy wrote to me on July 22 making certain proposals which were vitally and substantially different from the interim Government proposals embodied in the statement of June 16, and sent to me a copy of the assurances given to the Muslim League enclosing a copy of a similar letter addressed by him to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

'This was on the eve of the meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League and the Viceroy knew full well that a grave situation had been created and

that there were serious apprehensions and misgivings about the policy of His Majesty's Government and his attitude in the matter. Nevertheless, there is not a single word in his letter of July 22 with regard to our position 'vis-a-vis' the Constituent Assembly in the light of the decision of the Congress, the pronouncements of the Congress leaders and the directive given by the Assam Assembly to Assam's representatives on the Constituent Assembly to have nothing to do with the 'C' Group.

"I replied to the Viceroy on July 31, clearly stating our position with regard to his new move, which was obviously intended to meet the Congress wishes. For else what justification was there for him to depart, even from the final proposals embodied in the statement of June 16? Will the Viceroy explain why should there be any departure from those proposals and the assurances that were given to us and for whose advantage is this new move being made by him?

"I received a reply from him dated August 8, acknowledging my letter of July 31. It is amazing that he should have stated therein that his suggestion in his letter of July 22, was the 'same as the one the Muslim League Working Committee accepted at the end of June, namely, 6, 5, 3. This is entirely incorrect, as has been already pointed out by me in my letter of July 31."

• He further says:

"In view of the League resolution of July 29, I

have now decided to invite the Congress to make proposals for an interim Government and I am sure that if they make a reasonable offer to you of a coalition I can rely on you for a ready response

MERE FORMALITY

I had and have no knowledge or information as to what actually transpired between the Congress and the Viceroy, but Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru I suppose, as arranged came to see me on August 15. It was merely a formality and he made his offer that the Congress were willing to give out of 14, five seats to the Muslim League and the remaining 9 were to be nominated by them including one Muslim of their choice that he was not forming the Executive Council under the present constitution but a Provisional National Government responsible to the present Legislative Assembly and he made it clear in his letter of August 15 in reply to mine of the same date that while he was willing to discuss the larger question with me he had no new suggestion to make and added Perhaps you may be able to make a new approach and when I did make a suggestion he turned it down saying that the Congress stand was the same as laid down in their resolution of Delhi passed on June 29 and that the Wardha resolution of August 10 had only reaffirmed that stand and this was repeated by him at the Press conference on August 16 before his departure for Delhi to meet the Viceroy. I informed Pandit Nehru that in these circumstances there was no

chance of my Working Committee or the Council of the All India Muslim League accepting his proposals.

"NEGOTIATIONS BEHIND MY BACK"

Thereafter, the Viceroy, Pandit Nehru and the Congress leaders have now for nearly a week carried on their discussions and negotiations behind my back and without any knowledge or information being furnished to me, except the communique that was issued last night, announcing the formation of the interim Government and the Viceroy's broadcast. As the Viceroy has already disclosed the alleged offer, without stating what reply he had received from me, I am herewith releasing the correspondence

Letter from Lord Wavell dated July 22, 1946 to Mr Jinnah.

(Personal and confidential)

Dear Mr Jinnah.—I declare my intention of replacing the present caretaker Government of officials by an interim Coalition Government as soon as possible, and am now putting to you, as president of the Muslim League, and to the President of the Congress the proposals set out below.

2. I think you will probably agree with me that our negotiations, both this summer and last year, were hampered by the attendant publicity. I am, therefore, seeking your co-operation in conducting at any rate the preliminary stages of the negotiations on a strictly personal and secret basis between myself and

the two Presidents. I very much hope that you will prevent this correspondence being known to or discussed in the press until we have seen whether we can find some basis of agreement. I realise of course that you will have at some stage to secure the approval of your Working Committee but I believe it will be best to try and reach some basis of agreement between ourselves, as a first step. I propose the following for your consideration —

(a) The interim Government will consist of 14 members

(b) Six members to include one Scheduled Caste representative will be nominated by the Congress

Five members will be nominated by the Muslim League

Three representatives of minorities will be nominated by the Viceroy. One of these places will be kept for a Sikh

It will not be open to either the Congress or the Muslim League to object to the names submitted by the other party provided they are accepted by the Viceroy

(c) Distribution of portfolios will be decided after the parties have agreed to enter the Government and have submitted their names. The Congress and the Muslim League will each have an equitable share of the most important portfolios

(d) The assurances about the status of the interim Government which I gave in my letter dated May 30 to Maulana Azad will stand

3. I would welcome a convention, if freely offered by the Congress, that major communal issues can only be decided by the assent of both the major parties, but I have never thought that it was essential to make this a formal condition, since, in fact, a coalition Government could work on no other basis.

4. I sincerely trust that your party will agree to co-operate in the administration of India on the above basis while the work of constitution-making proceeds. I am confident that this will be of the greatest possible benefit to India

I suggest that we should not spend further time in negotiation, but should try out at once a Government on the basis proposed above. If it does not work and you find the conditions unsatisfactory, it will be open to you to withdraw, but I am confident that you will not

5. Would you be good enough to let me know very soon whether the Muslim League will enter in the interim Government on this basis? I am seeing Pandit Nehru this afternoon on these matters and will hand him his letter then

Mr Jinnah's reply to the above dated July 31.

"Dear Lord Wavell — I am in receipt of your letter of July 22 and I notice that this is the fourth basis that you are suggesting for the formation of your interim Government. From 552 you came to 553 and then to 554 as embodied in the statement of the Cabinet Delegation and yourself dated June 16, which was announced by you as final. Now you are making

this fourth proposal i e 653

Every time the Congress turned down the previous three proposals as you were unable to appease them or propitiate them and every time the departure was prejudicial to the League and in favour of the Congress

And now you have put your fourth proposals for my consideration

It gives a go by to all the important terms which were in favour of the Muslim League. The Congress will have six members out of fourteen as against five members of the Muslim League, which breaks straight way the principle of parity and you are letting down the Scheduled Castes as one of them is proposed to be nominated by the Congress and not by the real spokesmen of the Scheduled Castes. I note that you say that five members will be nominated by the Muslim League. Next three members of the minorities will be nominated by the Viceroy without reference to or consultation with the Muslim League. The only indication that you have given is that one of these places will be kept for a Sikh.

Then you proceed on to say that "it will not be open either to the Congress or the Muslim League to object to names submitted by the other party provided they are accepted by the Viceroy and from this I gather that it will be open to the Congress to nominate a quisling Muslim.

As to the distribution of the portfolios I note you say that the Congress and the Muslim League will

have an equitable share of the most important portfolios", and not the one as it was originally proposed

ASSURANCE ABOUT SAFEGUARDS

As to the assurance about safeguards i. e. that a major communal issue could only be decided by the consent of both the major parties, you say that "It will be only considered if freely offered by the congress," but you do not attach much importance to it and you conclude by saying that if the interim Government does not work when formed on this basis and if we find conditions unsatisfactory, it will be open to us to withdraw. I believe in the principle 'prevention is better than cure.'

This is a very clear and substantial departure, most detrimental to the Muslim League, and is obviously intended to appease the Congress and devised primarily to meet their wishes .

Taking the final proposal of June 16, in your letter dated June 20, you informed me that 14 members were invited by you on the basis of parity between the Hindus and the Muslims and communitywise and that it will not be changed without the agreement of the two major parties. Apart from the secret talks you had with the Congress, you clearly conveyed to us that invitees were asked to join specifically on the basis of five Hindus five Muslims, one Sikh, one Scheduled Caste, one Christian and one Parsi. Your present proposals clearly destroy the principle of parity as well as representation according to

communities and gives a clear majority to the Congress as against the Muslim League to start with. Further the Scheduled Caste representative will be nominated by the Congress which in my opinion is most unjust to a community of sixty million people who are groaning under the social and economic tyranny of the high caste Hindus whom alone the Congress really represents.

As regards representatives of other minorities, they will be nominated by you without reference to or any consultation with the Muslim League. This again is a departure from what you stated in letter of the 20th June that if any vacancy occurs among the seats at present allotted to the representatives of the minorities, I shall naturally consult both the major parties before filling it. I think you will appreciate that when you start with 6 Congress and 5 Muslim League with a Congress Majority the minority representatives will hold a very strong position as a balancing element, who would be nominated by you without even consultation with the Muslim League and this is a serious departure from what we were assured of in your letter of the 20th of June.

You categorically stated in your letter of 20th June paragraph five that no decision on a major communal issue would be taken by the interim Government if a majority of the representatives of the two major parties were opposed to it. Whereas now in the present proposal you inform me that you will welcome a convention if freely offered by the

Congress.

As you have written this letter to me, and is strictly personal and secret, I can only say that in my opinion there is no chance of my Working Committee accepting this proposal.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd) Jinnah. ^

Letter from the Viceroy dated August 8. Personal and secret.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,—I have received your letter of July 31 about my proposal for an interim Government.

2 I am sorry that things have gone the way they have but I do not think it would be profitable now to enter into a detailed discussion on the points you raised in your letter. I will only remind you that basis of representation which I suggested in the letter to which you now reply is the same as the one the Muslim League Working Committee accepted at the end of June, namely 6, 5, 3.

3. In view of the League resolution of July 29 I have now decided to invite the Congress to have proposals for an interim Government, and I am sure that if they make a reasonable offer to you of a coalition, I can rely on you for a ready response. I have told the President of the Congress that any interim Government would be on the basis of the assurances given in my letter of May 30 to Maulana Azad.

I hope we may have an opportunity of meeting soon. Yours sincerely, Wavell.

CLOUDS OVER THE CRESCENT

Jinnah has started a two-edged attack against the Congress and the Labour Government. He is worried because Churchill is no longer in power to vest him with the veto over the progressive forces of India.

An appeal to all Muslims in this country and particularly those who are not with the Muslim League—‘Jamiat ul Ulema, Khaksars, Abrars, and Nationalist Muslims—to unite and come under the banner of the Muslim League in the sacred interest of Islam was made by Mr M A Jinnah President of the All-India Muslim League addressing an Id gathering.

Mr Jinnah reviewed the political developments in the country since the British Cabinet Mission came to India last April and said ‘Today is a happy day for the Mussalmans of India, and it is a day for happiness and rejoicings for us. But, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that a dark cloud is overshadowing us. Muslim India is stunned and shocked for the moment by the gross and wicked betrayal by the British Government.

It is, no doubt a severe blow to the Muslim League and Muslim India, but I am confident that nothing is going to shake us or frighten us. We shall march on and face all the obstacles and march through fire trials and tribulations. In our onward

march, there will be set-backs and "sufferings, but we will not flinch or falter."

Referring to the Viceroy's broadcast on August 24, announcing the formation of the interim Government at the Centre, Mr. Jinnah said that it impressed some people when they heard it on the radio, but when it came in cold print and was examined what did it mean? "The Viceroy's broadcast was, no doubt, cleverly worded"

He criticised the action and policy of the Viceroy, and said that the Viceroy had committed a double betrayal in going back on his solemn word and in ignoring and by-passing the Muslim League. "I don't know whether the British Government or the Labour Party are really in possession of true facts", said Mr. Jinnah "But, I suspect that there is a move to black out facts from the British public and press. The Viceroy's action today is nothing but a wicked breach of declaration of August, 1940 made by the British Government to which the Labour Party was committed. "Today, the Congress is happy in having achieved its heart's desire and in having manouevred to get the Viceroy to by pass the Muslim League. But I am also equally happy. If the British Government is happy to have tickled vanity of the Congress, let us strike a bargain with the Congress. We are prepared for it."

Mr. Jinnah went on to refer to the negotiations carried on by him on behalf of the Muslim League with the British Cabinet mission and the Viceroy and

said that the Council of the All India Muslim League on June 6 accepted the proposals although not fully satisfied with them. We accepted the proposals although not fully satisfied with them. "We accepted the proposals, both short term and long term" said Mr Jinnah for the sake of an amicable settlement and on the promise given by the Viceroy on June 3. But immediately the Viceroy committed a breach of faith in making certain modifications in the original proposals and annulled the plan for the immediate formation of an interim Government at the Centre. The Congress rejected the short term plan but accepted the long term plan of the Cabinet Mission's proposals and that was only a sham acceptance.

'Despite this the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy went back on their promise and did not go ahead with the formation of the interim Government.

'There seems to be a mystery behind all this added Mr Jinnah "but it is a conspiracy pre-arranged with the Congress. I cannot understand how the Secretary of State for India in that position with his two eminent colleagues and the Viceroy committed in cold blood a breach of faith and broke their solemn words. Having betrayed the Muslim League the Viceroy has now completed the pre-arranged conspiracy with the Congress and finally bypassed the Muslim League."

CHAPTER III

WHY JINNAH WOOES THE SIKHS

Mr. Jinnah is clever a diplomat as Herr Hitler. If Mr. Jinnah is anxious to win over the Sikhs, it is because of his anxiety to avoid fight on two fronts. He won't like to fight against the Sikhs as well as the Hindus at one and the same time. His desire to make peace with the Sikhs has the same diplomatic value as Hitler's worry to have a treaty with Russia. Once the Hindus are eliminated, Jinnah imagines, the Sikhs can be easily crushed. But Jinnah forgets that the Sikhs are as formidable a force in Pakistan as Russia in Europe, and if he continues his Hitlerite tactics, he may find his dreams of Pakistan a vanishing nightmare.

SIKH—MUSLIM TANGLE

"There must be a definite proposal to the Sikhs before we discuss with the Muslim League the question of solving the Sikh-Muslim tangle," said Col Niranjana Singh Gill, president of the Pratinidhi Panthic Board, in the course of a talk with the United Press referring

to Mr M A Jinnah's invitation to Master Tara Singh for a meeting between the two.

'Our respective stands today are quite different Col Gill added and there can be no solution of the problem till the Muslim League wants the division of the country By Pakistan what we understand is Muslim rule and the Sikhs will never tolerate it Let the League President explain his position with regard to this Then alone will come the time to discuss the question of a permanent solution

He continued, We welcome the approach made by Mr Jinnah but he must also make a definite proposal Unless he does so there will be no good in having a meeting We want a just solution of the problem and to be friendly with each and every community Neither do we want to dominate over others nor shall we tolerate the domination of any other community Col' Gill further said that in view of Amritsar decision of the Panthic Board he hoped with the installation of the Interim National Government a day would be fixed for election of Sikh members to the Constituent Assembly After the announcement was made the Board would meet to nominate four candidates for the Constituent Assembly

BRUTE MUSLIM MAJORITY

The Muslim League in the Pakistan will enjoy a brute majority and Sikhs are rightly on their guard Dr Gopal Singh M A , Ph D has excellently brought out this point in an article in the Civil and Military

Gazette dated September 10, 1946:—

The cryptic public invitation of Mr. Jinnah to Master Tara Singh to enter into pourparlers with him has had a tepid reception for, instead of re-inforcing it by a private epistle or making certain concrete proposals which might impress the Sikh people with the League leader's genuine desire to release them from the pressure of "brute-majority" rule in the Punjab, he has chosen to tread on their corns by insisting, in his Id message and in his reply to the Viceroy's broadcast, on a sovereign Pakistan with "safeguards for the minorities "

After the acceptance by the League of a limited Centre as adumbrated in the State Paper, it was, if nothing else, bad tactics to resurrect the cry of Pakistan from the limbo of oblivion. It may have been a good bludgeon with Mr. Jinnah to stampede the Congress into accepting his own interpretation of the grouping clause or stabilising his demand for parity with caste Hindus at the Centre (now conceded). But it ill accorded with the grim Sikh resolve never to accept the position of underlings in any future dispensation of the Punjab, which claim the League leader himself has appreciated. It was an inopportune move in that it came closely on the heels of an invitation to a personality whose claims ran counter to his own. Once bitten twice shy, and if Mr. Jinnah allows tactics to get the better of truth he will only queer the pitch for Sikh leaders, who are only too willing to get and give an honourable deal. Not only that. It may make

impregnable the argument of those amongst us who have always set their face against having any truck with the League calling it *reactionary and aggressive*. If Mr Jinnah has no more than a few paper safeguards to offer, he has misread the Sikhs. If he has *something* more tangible up his sleeves he should lose no time in getting into personal touch with Sikh leadership and assure it not by words but by deeds of his genuine consideration for Sikh claims.



- The unity of India cannot now be questioned. The Congress, in its supreme effort to secure that unity, has literally conceded the Muslim demand of parity with caste Hindus, as also the right of the Federal Court instead of the chairman of the Constituent Assembly to interpret the State Paper and the right of the majority of Muslim members in that Assembly to veto legislation of major communal import. It is on these lines as Master Tara Singh has suggested that the Sikh-Muslim question should also be tackled in the Punjab. These are terms unacceptable to the League as a basis of compromise with the Congress. If, on the other hand Master Tara Singh is willing to be accommodated with this much, he should be on very reasonable and sure ground.

It will indeed be tragic if Mr Jinnah who has so unsparingly and with steadfast devotion fought for the cause of one nationality does not rise to the height of statesmanship and make a magnanimous gesture to Sikhs. If he does that one may be sure, Sikhs will

never fail him. But the lead must come from him in terms of a concrete offer. We have had enough of wrangling, quibbling and manoeuvring. It is time we sat down, in all humility and sincerity, to carve out an honourable set-up in order that all peoples may pull together in the task of reconstruction and enjoy equitably the fruits of freedom now waiting on our very threshold. Let not these fruits, ripened after so much toil and tribulation, be made bitter by letting them grow over-mellow while we strain at gnats and split hairs. After all, our destinies are interwoven and we have, willy nilly, to avoid a rupture. And let us be sure that without a Sikh-Muslim settlement in the Punjab, no all-India patchwork will be worth a day's purchase.

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Another solution, equally just and feasible, is the proposed by Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramiyya — one of the trio now constituting the Congress Parliamentary Sub-Committee—which is bound to materialise if the Sikhs are denied equal opportunities of self-expression in the Punjab as at present constituted.

Dr. Sitaramiyya has asserted that present provincial boundaries are an anachronism and must be recast on a "cultural and linguistic basis" before a constitution for the provinces is hammered out. He has recommended to the Constituent Assembly the appointment of a boundary commission to report on the realignment of provincial boundaries within two months of its appointment. No one need deny the contention of Dr. Sitaramiyya that the present

provinces were created for administrative and other reasons and not to satisfy the urge of particular nationalities. The Congress is also committed to such re alignment. If freedom implies freedom for all from all, previous injustices and maladjustments must go. Once a constitution is carved out, it will of necessity have to be worked for a decade after which a province (and not a section of it) can press for its revision. And this according to Dr Sitaramiyya no nationality will stand. He has very pointedly referred to the case of the Punjab. As he himself stresses, the boundaries of the Punjab are merely arbitrary and must be scrapped.

In the days of our sovereign Ranjit Singh the area between the Sutlej and the Khyber, which comprised the Sikh empire was split into four provinces—Hazara, Kashmir, Multan and Lahore. When the British took over, they lumped the four units together, extending the area of the new unit right up to the banks of the Jumna. Some—including Dr Sitaramiyya—say this was done deliberately in order to yoke the democratic and the revolutionary central and eastern parts to the reactionary western tract. Facts do not belie this contention. Even to-day we find almost the entire landed aristocracy entrenched in the western part while in the centre and the East land is held by peasant proprietors on a democratic tenure. Education, trade, political consciousness, productive capacity—all in these areas are far in advance of what obtains in the western tract. The language of

the central and eastern Punjab is distinctly separable from Multani or Lahndi (as Dr Grierson, the celebrated linguist has pointed out). This part also is the cradle of Sikh civilisation and culture, almost two-thirds of the Sikh population having homes in it. The Sikh States, to which Sikhs as a people are bound by innumerable ties, are all centred in this area. It should, therefore, be torn from the rest and constitute a separate unit. This is not communalism but nationalism in its purest form. This new province will be self-sufficient, with a population of about fifteen millions, a compact, homogenous people, linguistically and culturally, and with a communal balance which may be the envy of the rest of the country. One of the world's largest hydro-electric systems will be enclosed by this territory, and one of the biggest dams, the Bhakra dam. Vast untapped resources will encourage the growth of new industries, especially in fruit, paper, woollen and cotton textiles and sugar. It will solve the vexed Sikh-Muslim problem automatically, as also the problem of language and of a majority rule by any single community, and leave scope for Muslims to determine the constitution for the rest of the area in which they will be more than 70 percent.

This, we believe, is coming our way if in the meantime believers in the economic unity of the Punjab do not wake up and strike an honourable deal with the Sikhs. Sikh representatives in the Constituent Assembly are bound to extend their wholehearted support to the move of Dr. Sitaramiyya. In fact, the initiative must emanate from ourselves.

CHAPTER IV

CHURCHILL FOMENTING CIVIL WAR

Mr Winston Churchill has lost face in the elections but not the sting in his tail. It is not without reason that the Labour Government has requested the Indian National Congress to go ahead with the formation of the Indian National Government even without the Muslim League. And the reason is quite a weighty one. Mr Churchill the Leader of Opposition for the first time in the history of Britain has begun to interfere in Indian affairs in direct opposition to the Party in power.

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FOE OF FREEDOM

Mr Louis Fischer has made the following illuminating revelation—

Winston Churchill remains the implacable enemy of India's independence. He has never disguised his views. Many members of his party differ with him on the question of Indian freedom but Churchill's

imperialistic policy dominates

Mohammed Ali Jinnah has not in recent years given any proof of a devotion to the cause of India's liberation from foreign rule. Nor has the Muslim League over which he presides Landlords, who bulk large in the councils of the League stand to lose by the establishment of new India which would certainly after the present land tenure to the disadvantage of landlords, Muslim as well as Hindu and to the advantage of all peasants.

CHURCHILL-JINNAH ENTENTE

What could be more natural, therefore, than that Churchill and Jinnah should have been in correspondence in recent months over the fate of India? They have quietly exchanged letters and messages. It was shortly after the receipt of one such secret communication from Churchill that the Muslim League reconsidered its acceptance of the British Cabinet Mission's long-term proposals and decided instead to boycott the coming Assembly which is to draw up a constitution for a new, free India

The Cabinet Mission laboured hard and on the whole successfully to prepare the way for the transfer of political power from British to Indian hands. Churchill and Jinnah are now attempting to undermine the effort.

One of the fruits of Jinnah's new attitude is the death looting and arson which took place in Calcutta. He who cannot hold his followers in check must not

unleash them Mahatma Gandhi realizes this and he told me that even if the present attempt to free India failed, he would not launch a civil disobedience campaign because he is afraid it would be attended by the same kind of violence and sabotage which attended the 'Quit India' movement started by him in 1942. Mohamed Ali Jinnah might take a leaf out of the Mahatma's book

SUPREME IRRESPONSIBILITY

In rejecting the Cabinet Mission's long-term settlement Jinnah acted with supreme irresponsibility. But Churchill's irresponsibility is much greater. For he has held high office and he is presumably attached to Western ideals of law and order.

Perhaps Jinnah does not know that Churchill's influence in Britain and in his own Tory Party has waned. But surely Churchill believes that Jinnah's recalcitrance would deter the Labour Government from carrying out its purpose of "quitting India"? It is possible.

My own impression gathered in London is that England is firm in its determination to give India a provisional Indian Government and to proceed with the convocation of the Constituent Assembly according to plan. The abstention of the Muslim League from the Constitution-making Assembly undoubtedly creates difficulties and embarrassment for all concerned. But these difficulties are not so insuperable and the embarrassment is not so overpowering as to warrant

the scrapping of the entire scheme of Indian liberation.

I do not think that Jinnah can veto the decisions of the British Government when they are accepted by the majority of Indians. Jinnah might attempt to do so and cause misery and bloodshed. What will that profit him? The liberation of India cannot be prevented. If the Muslims of India really want a separate Muslim country, they can get it without violence after it has been demonstrated that a united India cannot function with benefit to all its inhabitants. I found in India that every intelligent person conceded the ultimate right of the Muslim areas to secede from the Indian Union. They merely asked for a preliminary trial period lasting say five or ten years before the decision was taken to vivisect India and invite material, social and political harm to the resulting Sections.

THE CIVILIZED WAY

There should be full cultural autonomy and the widest possible economic and political autonomy during the trial period and the constitution of the Indian Union should contain a provision for its radical revision at the end of the experiment.

This is the civilized way. The alternative is death, ruin, starvation, and a legacy of hate which may last a full century. Which course will Jinnah pursue? Which course does Churchill prefer?

It is not really strange that Jinnah and the reactionary Muslim League, a landlord-ridden organi-

zation, should lean towards an entente with backward looking imperialistic Tories of Britain.

It is strange that enlightened Muslims in India should follow Jinnah's lead

Several very prominent Congress party personalities have in the past opposed any endeavour to weaken the Muslim League. In my opinion this is excessive magnanimity. The Muslim League is a sinister influence in India and the Muslims should rebel against those who today make its policies. I encountered numerous Muslims who disliked Jinnah personally and regretted his political acts. But they either did not speak up or spoke with little authority because the Congress Party had made mistakes in former years which fed Muslim resentment and because under the existing separate electorates which do not permit a Hindu to vote for a Muslim or vice versa. A Muslim who covets political advancement will normally align himself with a Muslim body which can elect him instead of with the Congress Party which has not helped many Muslims to climb up the political ladder.

FUNDAMENTAL CURSE

The near future promises to alter these circumstances. In a new Congress led Coalition Indian Government Muslims and will play an important role. For the first time in Indian history, the Congress will be able to promote the legitimate ambitions of a large number of Muslims. Secondly, the Constituent

Assembly when it meets will certainly undertake to create joint in the place of the separate electorates

This will remove a fundamental curse from the Indian political life and will be conducive to Hindu-Muslim political collaboration. When the Hindus can vote for the Muslims and the Muslims for the Hindus, divisions in Indian affairs will cease to be communal and religious and become social and economic. This will make it possible for Muslims to work more intimately with the Congress Party which is predominantly Hindu.

The relations between the Hindus and Muslims were bad and have grown worse in recent years. They could grow better quickly if India progressed towards a new political life as envisaged in the Cabinet Mission's plan. Is this that Jinnah wishes to prevent?

Does Churchill uphold Jinnah's nefarious views?

2

THE VOLCANO WILL ERUPT

Having received some type of a guidance from the War Lord of Britain, the League leaders are willing to create the volcano of civil war unless the nationalists surrender unconditionally to their dictatorship.

The Bengal Chief Minister, Mr. H.S. Suhrawardy, discussing the current impasse between the interim Government and the Muslim League, declared: "If the spirit of co-operation is shown, the day of haggling

will be over

Mr Suhrawardy, who recently saw the President of the Muslim League, Mr Jinnah, in Bombay, and who saw the Viceroy, expressed the opinion in an interview that if Mr Jinnah felt that there was a spirit of co-operation on the Congress side, he would take less than his present demands.

'I have no detailed proposals to make', (the Bengal Premier continued 'Mr Jinnah is our chief and our general and it is for him to judge.'

'All that I have endeavoured to point out is that things are coming to such a pass that there is so much suspicion distrust even amounting to hate arising between the two nations that, unless something is done and done quickly and done in a large-hearted manner, done without quibbling, the prospects before us are not merely gloomy and ghastly but just cannot bear contemplation

Muslim India means business.

In respect to the League entering the interim Government Mr Suhrawardy said "They tell us, Come in and if you feel let down or it does not work satisfactorily then you can get out and still be in a much better position But I don't think so.

BETRAYED

"When to-day, with the position as clear as crystal—that we have been let down and betrayed by the Cabinet Mission—we cannot get the sympathy of world opinion, except certain individual people, what hope is there of getting it when the onus of proof

will be on us every time ?

"But what is most alarming is that I never hear them say that, if you cannot work owing to the fault of the Congress, the Congress will leave or go out of the picture. Let them be as intransigent and unreasonable as possible. It is the Muslims that must always pay the penalty and suffer.

"Perhaps, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru or the person who pulls the string from behind, really believed what he said, namely, that the Muslims were bluffing and minor disturbances that might occur would be easily put down.

"Is it possible that men of sense and political insight could really have entertained that idea ? Let us say, Yes Let us not think the worst of them; for the alternative is nothing else but planning for sheer massacre.

"A solution, therefore, has got to be found and found quickly. Everyone knows that the tension, instead of abating, is rising, daily — even before the Muslim League had launched any programme of direct action, even while the Muslim League has done nothing but told the Muslims to prepare for direct action.

"Heaven knows where the volcano will erupt and when, I know my Muslim brethren, I dread their determination. No steps have yet been taken to mobilise them and yet their will 'to do or die' is already writ large in blood. Please hurry "

THE THREAT OF CIVIL WAR

The following editorial from the Tribune dated September 13, 1946 is worth brooding over —

There is no penitence no contrition in League circles at the Calcutta and Bombay carnage. Either there is a brazen faced attempt to saddle non-Leagueurs with the main if not entire responsibility for it or there is a persistent endeavour to use it as an instrument of blackmail to secure further political advantages. The Bengal Muslim League has passed a resolution saying that the Hindus organised a premeditated attack on the Muslims. The obvious and inconvertible truth is that the evil sprang from the declaration of the Direct Action Day as a public holiday by the League Ministry when the goonda League element in the absence of adequate police precautions took the law into its own hands and used violence to compel non League shopkeepers to suspend their business. The League Ministry was playing the dangerous double role of law breaker and law preserver by associating itself with direct action while holding the reins of administration. No wonder that under its regime anarchy prevailed in Calcutta for several days. The League goondas — who could be distinguished from the League gentlemen who had no control over them — did not confine their on law

ghts to Hindus. They also attacked those Muslims who had refused to swear by League Fascism. It was indeed a League crusade against non-or-anti-Leaguers. The Bengal League Premier, Mr. Suhrawardy, instead of feeling ashamed of what happened under his regime has been in a way gloating over it. He is offering threats and mora threats to his political opponents. In the course of a recent statement he says : "Heaven knows where the volcano will erupt and when. I know my Muslim brethren. I dread their determination. No steps have yet been taken to mobilise them and yet their will to do or die is already writ large in blood " The threat is that Calcutta and Bombay have experienced only the initial fury of the League volcano and the regular eruption has yet to take place. Again the threat is that the bloodshed so far caused has been disorganised and organised bloodshed has yet to occur. These threats have emanated from a man who continues to be the Premier and the League Fuehrer in Bengal. But one need not be surprised. His chief, Mr. Jinnah, who at least should talk in a more responsible manner, has uttered equally terrible threats !

While ascribing the Calcutta and Bombay killing to "an organised and premeditated move of non-Leaguers and describing it as "a symptom of the nearness of a civil war all over India and of the pattern which it may follow", Mr. Jinnah declares that India's 400,000,000 Hindus, Muslims and other minorities are in danger. In order to emphasise the gravity and

magnitude of the danger ahead he observes that the Calcutta and Bombay massacre and arson were not a civil war but disturbances "close to becoming one. Did we not anticipate Mr Jinnah's remark and say that they were just a 'civil war rehearsal' ? But the League leaders are sadly mistaken if they imagine that by threatening to convert every Indian city and town and village into the stabbed and wounded and burnt and blistered Calcutta of the Direct Action Day they can frighten non Leaguers to hand over Mother India to them to be vivisected. Mr Jinnah has not contented himself with threatening non-Leaguers with dire consequences if they do not meekly submit to his dictation. He has also flourished his menacing fist before British democrats. While denying that he intends to have any negotiation with the Soviet Union—who ever believed that the League with its mediaval theocratic psychology and its feudal capitulist leadership could go on a political mission to Moscow and be welcomed there ? — Mr Jinnah thunders Britain is alienating 100 000 000 Muslims with her present policy. Does not that seem to be a dangerous thing for the peace of the world ? British democrats are not alienating 100 000 000 Indian Muslims, but only that mediaval-minded reactionary and irreconcilable section of the Muslim community which is the creation of separate electorates the worst British Machiavellian device known to Indian history. This section will be reabsorbed in the nationalist and democratic Muslim community the moment sepa-

rate electorates are scrapped and joint electorates are substituted in its place. The Constituent Assembly, which is competent to do this most essential constitutional work, 'must do it. But this is a digression. Mr. Jinnah can have another conference of his men and non-League leaders and British statesmen—the British visitors to Delhi, whom he has called underlings are not underlings but Ministers and they may again be present—in the more salubrious climate of London this time, as he wants. But he should stop rattling the sabre — in fact he should put the sabre on the shelf—and cease dreaming and talking of Pakistan. If he does so, nobody need take the trouble of going to London. The Indian settlement, which may ensure the immediate liberation and ultimate prosperity of our united country, can be reached to-day, this moment at the Malabar Hill residence of Mr. Jinnah in Bombay or at the Viceroy's House in Delhi.

4

CAIRO CRITICISM OF LEAGE ROLE

“Once again India impedes her own progress on the road to final freedom by turning back into the cul-de-sac of internecine turmoil”, writes the “Egyptian Mail” in a leading article.

“Certainly much distance has been won. The new Government composed for the first time of Indian members alone, marks a historic accomplishment in the country's history. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

and his fellow ministers by accepting the responsibilities of office, have shown themselves equal to the opportunity offered them of leading India into the full dawn of complete independence. But that dawn cannot break while unity is lacking between the Hindu and Muslim

Mr Jinnah's attitude is a curious one. There undoubtedly is fear among considerable numbers of Muslims of Congress oppression — a fear in no way calmed by certain utterances of Congress leaders. But the need for a full and frank co-operation is apparent in the death roll of Calcutta and the strife in Bombay', concludes the *Egyptian Mail*, adding that the prospect of civil war in India is too terrible to contemplate. But the prospect, alas, is there, unless the Muslim League recognises that freedom of India is a greater thing than its members intransigence.

5

BRITAIN APPEALS TO JINNAH

A plea for Indian unity was made by the Labour Member of Parliament Mr W G Cove when he addressed the largest Indian political gathering in Britain since the outbreak of the war.

The conference was organised by the Indian Workers Association and was attended by nearly four hundred delegates from Britain including Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs.

Mr. Cove said they had arrived at a definite point where India was setting out on the road to complete independence but Indians every-where had to realise that independence was only the beginning of a particular solution of India's problems.

They had to face, for example, the problem of the terrible poverty. India itself was not poor but Indian poverty had been caused by an imperial power exploiting its resources without thought for the benefit of the Indian people.

The provisional Indian Government, he said, had gigantic difficulties in its path and its formation had been marred by the fact that the Muslim League had not seen fit to join.

Mr. Cove thought that unity would soon be achieved and there was no doubt it had to be achieved. Events would compel unity in India, for, the internal problems which faced the Indian people could only be solved by a united India and it was only a united India which could take its place as a leader in world peace.

A disunited India, he said, would always be the prey for imperialistic powers. Indian leaders should look at China to see the fate which might befall a disunited India.

Congress leaders had kept the door open for the Muslim League throughout the negotiation and it was still open. He urged the Muslim League to turn away from communal differences and respond to the call of Pandit Nehru which would unite all efforts to rid

India of its desperate poverty and make her a power in world politics.

Councillor E. Denington of the London County Council and organising secretary of the British centre against imperialism said that the problems facing the Indian Government were the fault of the British people

If the British had not been in India these difficulties would have solved themselves in their proper course. India was left with a heavy legacy by British imperialism of which the British people should be ashamed

India's fight for independence was reaching success and colonial peoples all over the world were awakening to India's example. There were small colonial races who had not the advantage of good leadership and they were looking to India with great hope for guidance and help in the struggle for freedom.

In discussion which followed, a resolution was passed re-affirming the support of the conference for the policy of the Congress.

6

ALLIANCE BETWEEN LEAGUE AND BRITISH IMPERIALISM

Here is another instructive editorial from the Tribune dated September 12, 1946—

One of the dirtiest calumnies that League propagandists have of late been interested in circulating against their political opponents is that an alliance has

been established between them and British Imperialism. They believe in the Hitlerian dictum that if a lie is persistently repeated it is accepted as gospel truth by the mass mind which is intended to be cheated. Though these League propagandists consist mainly of landlords and capitalists—old natural allies of British Imperialism—they are confident that the unsophisticated Muslim masses will not pause to examine their character and the motive underlying their preposterous statement, but readily swallow whatever they say. No alliance of any kind has been established between non-Leaguers and British Imperialism any-where. What has happened is this. The changed circumstances—particularly the disappearance of Mr. Churchill from the British pedestal and the appearance of some dynamic factors in the Indian situation—have destroyed the alliance between the League and British Imperialism at the Centre. Mr. Jinnah has been deprived of his power of veto—he can no more keep the national ship tied to the old bureaucratic moorings. As he is shorn of his locks he is shouting, and his followers in order to provide him with the solace of having more dupes in his camp are raising the cry that non-Leaguers and British Imperialism have conspired against the Muslim “nation”. The fact is that while non-Leaguers and British Imperialism have nothing in common, Leaguers and British Imperialism have everything in common, Leaguers are still exhorting their ally British Imperialism not to retire from any vantage ground. Do they not

say to it in a shameless manner, "Remain supreme in the Constituent Assembly. Do not let it function as a sovereign body. Maintain your supremacy at the Centre. Do not let the interim Government behave and act as an independent National Government. Indeed the Muslim League is keeping away both from the Constituent Assembly and the interim Government because it has the corroding feeling that its ancient and intimate friend British Imperialism may not be there with its usual assertive mood and manner to assist it. History does not provide another instance of an equally disgraceful move of a section of indigenous population to secure the perpetuation of the influence of an alien power in its national affairs.

This League scandal — the anti propriety, anti decency and anti democratic combination between Leaguers and British Imperialist — is apparent in its most revolting form in Bengal and Sind. Where bureaucrats all over India have generally speaking sneaking if not blatant sympathy with Muslim Leaguers for they believe that they can secure a longer lease of life only with the aid of the League. And as regards the white-feathered birds of passage — the European capitalists in India — who are the truest representatives of British Imperialism in this country it is crystal clear that they are hand in glove with Leaguers. But for the European Groups support in the Bengal Assembly — the presence of more than two dozen Europeans in that legislature is one of the greatest constitutional monstrosities of the world — the

League ministry will not last a day. Even the Great Calcutta Killing has not stung the conscience of this band of British Imperialists and induced it to divorce the League. The marriage between the League and British Imperialism can bear the strain of any storm or eruption. In Sind the Governor himself sustains it. He enabled the Muslim League Party in the Assembly, which was definitely shown to be in a minority when the general election results were announced, to get into the support of the European Group and helped it to avoid defeat more than once. The Governor, representing the bureaucracy, and the European Group, representing British Imperialism, constitute the stilts on which the Sind League Party struts about as the Government of Sind—and the most amusing part of it all is that its feudal and capitalist members accuse non-Leagueurs of being in league with British Imperialism. Again the pro-League Sind Governor has prevented the usurpers from being thrown out and the rightful claimants from being installed on the ministerial gaddi by scrapping the fixed combat. The Opposition leader, Mr. Syed, knew that he might play the disgusting trick of proroguing the Assembly and in a communication to the Viceroy he clearly wrote, "The Governor's next move is apprehended — prorogation of the Assembly and the allowing of the ministry to function as he did in July last." The proclaimed conjecture regarding his next move did not create any trepidation in the heart of the Governor. He prorogued the Assembly unhesi-

tatingly and saved the minority Muslim League Ministry from collapse. Several League ministers had resigned the League Speaker had also quitted his chair the League was unable to elect a new Speaker and the Leaguers were definitely in a minority numbering only 27 — morally the European Group consisting of 3 members had no right to be counted in the contest—as against 30 Opposition members. According to the imperative demand of the situation the Governor should have dismissed the League Cabinet and invited the Opposition to assume the reins of administration. He not only did not do what he should have done but he did what he should not have done. Once again it has been publicly demonstrated that the unholy alliance between the Muslim League on the one hand and the Bureaucracy and British Imperialism on the other continues. The national fight against Muslim Leaguism—that is Muslim landlordism and capitalism — and the Bureaucracy and British Imperialism must continue till they are completely liquidated.

7

THE ARMOURY OF LEAGUE

Our Province has for some time past, been known as the sword arm of India, but certain recent events tend to prove that, ere long it will earn the further distinction of being the armoury of sword arms for the League's threatened direct action. Several Railway

parcels containing long knives with blades measuring between 10 and 12 inches and despatched from Wazirabad have been seized by the Police at Railway stations outside the Punjab. It would appear as if some of the manufacturers of knives at Nizamabad and Wazirabad have decided to switch off their entire plant which had been so far engaged in supplying requirements of the Indian Army to the manufacture of "Civil war armaments."

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But what is really exasperating is the complete apathy and indifference shown by the Gujranwala District police towards this matter. The reports of the seizure of long knives are nearly one week old, but the Police has not stirred even its little finger to interrogate the owners of knife factories at Nizamabad or Wazirabad. I read in the papers a report that some Police officers from other Provinces have reached these places, but this reflects no credit on the Gujranwala Police. Strangely enough, it showed an extraordinary amount of zeal and enthusiasm in taking action against the Socialist workers in that District. Should the public assume that all its energies are reserved for such like movements only? Even now, it is not too late to mend. The manufacture and despatch of these lethal weapons is obviously a part of a country-wide conspiracy and the authorities if they are anxious to retain public confidence, should lose no time in getting into action.

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After starting the fire works at Calcutta, Mr Suhrawardy who has won the reputation of being Enemy No 1 of the public peace, has shifted the venue of his activities to Delhi and is singing the identical hymn of hate, which has cost both Hindus and Mussalmans of Bengal so heavily. The whole trend of Press statement was provocative in the extreme and it is clear that he has learnt no lesson from the Calcutta tragedy. I agree with him that the Leaguers have brought things to such a pass and have aroused so much suspicion, distrust and hate among the Mussalmans against the Hindus that the prospects before the country are not only gloomy but ghastly. Nor am I surprised at his declaration that the only alternative to the appeasement of the League would be nothing else but planning for sheer massacre. Calcutta has witnessed scenes of wholesale slaughter of innocent people including women and children and if Mr Suhrawardy's ambition is to have these barbarities re-enacted at other places as well, he should be treated as a lunatic and shut up in an asylum. The real question however, which baffles man in the street is why these firebrands are being allowed so much latitude to raise such like war cries. If the Government considers it inexpedient for reasons of its own not to lay its hand on such like people it should at least pull them down from the position of vantage which they are occupying mainly through the help of the British Government. Both Sind and Bengal League Ministries owe their very existence to the support of the European

members of the Assembly and if the latter do not withdraw the support, the public will be driven to the unpleasant conclusion that they (the Europeans) are not over-anxious about India's enjoying a peaceful life. But let me warn these Europeans against the terrible consequences of their present policy of fraternising with these fomenters of discord. They should know that once the Mussalmans are aroused to declare "Jehad", it will be impossible for them to discriminate between non-Muslim and another. The European settlers in this country have as much cause for genuine apprehension from the threatened civil war as members of other communities.

8

THE BRINK OF RUINOUS CIVIL WAR

On September 11, 1946, Mr. Jinnah made a momentous statement from Bombay.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, declared in an interview yesterday that India stands at the brink of ruinous civil war involving her 400,000,000 Hindus, Muslims and small minorities which only prompt, sincere and skilled diplomatic negotiations could avert

He described the Calcutta and Bombay disorders as "undoubtedly symptoms of the nearness of civil war all over India, and of the pattern which such a civil war might follow".

Declaring his readiness to participate in peace conference in London at which a "fresh start" might

be made towards settlement of the Indian question Mr Jinnah discussed difficulties which such a conference would have to surmount and why he felt it should be held

'We dealt with the Cabinet Mission, Mr Jinnah said 'Now, therefore our remedy should lie with those at the top in the British Government

Underlings have brought us to a point where we face two choices and only two One is the choice of a civil war which would ruin the Hindu and Muslim nations alike and from which I hope we can be spared although we are nearer to it than many persons seem able to realize or willing to admit

'The other choice is peaceful settlement through negotiations among the leaders from this country and the highest authorities in Britain This would have to be at a conference in which the good of the people instead of the face-saving of individuals would be of paramount consideration It would need to be carried out in calm surrounding with sincere determination, honesty and skill

We gave a warning that every proposal will be looked upon by me from the point of view of its value towards the achievement of the Pakistan demand while the Congress will look at it from the point of view of avoiding Pakistan and establishing Akhand Hindustan and Hindu Raj over the entire sub continent of India

Even more is at stake than the peace of the people of India Mr Jinnah said This is the sort

of situation which breeds world wars Britain is alienating 100,000,000 Muslims with her present policies. Does not that seem to be a dangerous thing for the peace of the world when we consider what has happened else where ?”

“I am not negotiating with Russia nor am I hoping to negotiate with Russia for her interventions into the affairs of India. Any such story is nonsense, if anyone is spreading it. The recitation of the lessons which history teaches does not constitute an invitation to some foreign power to do certain things”.

Mr Jinnah said : “There is no basis for assertions which have been made that his objective is to achieve a Pakistan which would be a colony of the British Government. “That definitely is not true”, he added. “We want an independent, sovereign Pakistan and we will have it”.

“These disorders”, Mr. Jinnah said, returning to the subject of disturbances in Bombay, Calcutta and elsewhere, “are not a civil war although they are close to becoming one. The fact that they have been precipitated on the days of Muslim League demonstrations against having the interim Government forced upon us is not our doing. We were exercising our right of peaceful protest and we did not start these disorders. There was an organised, premeditated move to mar the effectiveness of the protest and to discourage the Muslim League”.

SECOND SECTION

Should there be a Civil War

CHAPTER I

PROLOGUE

Communalism is at best a sore, at worst a desperate and chronic disease, a black death in the body politic of India. When and how our Motherland came to contract this malady, it is not easy to diagnose.

History has been proved to be merely a box of letters. Nowhere has it fallen in such disrepute as in India. Some Hindu historians are likely to get heated in dealing with the Muslim Kings. And Muslim writers are liable to cast a sprinkling of blue-black ink on Hindu rulers. The Indian authors both Hindu and Muslim, usually prove that famines are an accompaniment of the British rule. The facts established by the British scholars are diametrically opposite. We should not expect a less partial fate for the question of Communalism.

Mahatma Gandhi declared, at the second session of the Round Table Conference, that Communalism is "coeval with the British advent".

There are others who look at these facts with entirely different spectacles. They are of the firm



conviction that it is not the British rule that has brought Communalism It is Communalism that has brought the British Raj There is no use denying the fact. At the bottom were our mutual dissensions, of Hindus and Muslims religious as well as political They sheltered the Europeans And strengthened them And fortified them in our midst

CHAPTER II

CAUSES OF COMMUNALISM

Communalism is now a fact. And there is no use bothering about its genesis. How-it-grew is almost insignificant now. Let us see what it is and how it can be removed. The best energies of the Indian intelligentsia must be concentrated on the causes and the cure of communalism.

Of course, the causes include the idea of "How-It-grew", Otherwise the synopsis will be imperfect. But one thing is of the paramount importance. Communalism should not be taken, as something concrete.

It is nothing of the sort. Communalism is something abstract. Something loose.

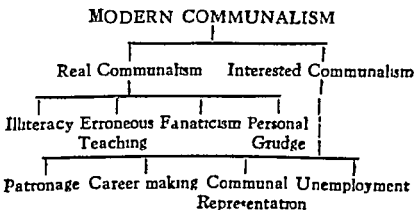
Moreover, it is diversified. It changes its motive force, from time to time, and from clime to clime. It is as indefinable in its colouring as a chameleon. Communalism, a hundred years ago was different, in its vitality.

Then it might have been green. Now it is blood-red. Yesterday the chameleon was sanguine. To-day the communal lizard is sanguinary. That's the rule. So

by "Causes" I mean the Immediate causes rather than the remote ones not how it grew but how it grows.

I am concerned wholly and solely with the "Modern Communalism" in India. We must distinguish the communal problem of to-day from what it might have been during the preceding centuries.

Modern communalism may be genealogically classified as follows—



This classification is by no means exhaustive. Nor is it intended to be so. Overlapping and cross-influences are unavoidable. It is a knotted problem or rather a knot of problems. Much goes under the name of communalism. It will hardly serve any practical purpose to count every root and branch. These are so inextricably intertwined. The classification is intended as an indicator rather than as a counting table. The modern communal tendencies cannot be classified.

REAL VERSUS INTERESTED COMMUNALISM

It is highly imperative to distinguish a Real communalist from the Pretentious or the Interested one. A real communalist is one who has a morbidly exalted notion of his own religion and is at daggers drawn with the followers and institutions of all other religions in thought, in word and in deed. An Interested communalist is more or less the child of circumstances. He is a communalist in deed rather than at heart. Let us take an example. There is a prospective candidate of the Legislative Assembly. He is otherwise of thorough patriotic views. But he seeks election. And seeks it on the communal ticket. Not unnaturally he feels that his co-religionists must vote for him, He imbibes their opinions. And becomes a communalist to the back-bone. Self-interest is predominant. He decides to put his sense of patriotism on the shelf. And becomes a better fanatic than any other rival in that ward ! A man who is a communalist at heart but somehow or other cannot be in deed", is hardly a less dangerous type of the Real Communalism.

Circumstances keep him mum But his fanaticism goes on smouldering. It blazes out not unusually upon the very household of his munificent employer. There is one more type of a man who may be acknowledged as the monarch communalism. He is a fanatic heart as well as in deed, but not in words. He fr

mixes with other communities and proves his patriotism. He transforms communal act into national deeds through bludgeoning controversies. He is a careerist. And successfully climbs up the communal ladder into the high esteem of the government.

2

FANATICISM

Fanaticism has already been defined. It means wild and extravagant notion of one's own religion and bitter animosity against all other faiths and creed. For a fanatic a man of every other religion is a heretic. And with all heretics he is at daggers drawn. Fanaticism as such exists only among the clergy. They engross themselves in the worm-eaten ultra-mundane theology. They lose all sense of inter-religious proportion and harmony. To give preference to one's own religion over all others as the soul-jaundiced priest often sermonize to us into a conviction is to be a frog in the pool, boastful of its shallow waters, bounded on the North by tradition, on the south by prejudice, on the east by ignorance and on the west by unmanliness, not knowing or deliberately disregarding that it is a fragment of the ubiquitous ocean of religion, the genus where-of Christianity, Hinduism, Islam and others are only species. Many an ignorant man surrenders himself hypnotically to the mercenary priests and consequently the vessel of religion founders. It founders between Scylla and Charybdis, Scylla of atheism and

charybdis of bigotry. That is my firm conviction.

Fanaticism among the masses is always the crown of a trible frint. Illiteracy. Erroneous Teaching, and Personal grudge. These will be discussed under respective heads.

3

ILLITERACY

Jealousy and particularism are almost synonymous with narrow-mindedness. Give liberal education to the masses. And you weed out the very seeds of fanaticism. Interested communalism is still rampant among the educated clases, But real bigotry is conspicuous by its absence It was notable that during the Shahidgunj Agitation at Lahore in 1935, the riots were limited to the lower sections of Sikhs and Muslims. Countless men were killed. But the life of not a single educated man was touched. "Don't assault the men in pantaloons !" shouted a Muslim rioter, as I happened to pass through a tumultuous bazar. The mutual relations among the upper classes were remarkably amiable.

4

ERRONEOUS TEACHING

Erroneous teaching is the most fruitful source of communal riots. Illiterate and half-educated narrow-minded people fall an easy prey to the machinations of

selfish orators and Journalists There are instances on record where a single deliberately illogical argument created excitement among the audience which immediately fathered a riot. The cry of "Islam in danger ! or Hinduism in danger ! is a gigantic fanatical ware It vibrates in the breast of not a few followers whose routine of life is governed by religious dogmas, rather than the religious spirit But the conclusion is disheartening There are the wire pullers behind thoughtless and simple minded orthodox followers. These are knowingly fallacious teachers and preachers, who are usually highly educated or at any rate sufficiently educated to see the mischief they are about ! who Will educate the educated ? or rather re educate the mis-educated public men ? A real communalist sleeps peacefully sleeps like a lion until interested communalist knocks him out of his slumbers and commands him hypnotically So it is the Interested Fanatic who is the fountain head of all communal disharmony

5

PERSONAL GRUDGE

Human beings we are with all our weaknesses and shortcomings, everywhere in this self-interested world personal grudges can be, and usually are metamorphosed into monstrous public grievances. A Muslim is injured by a number of Hindus or vice versa Circumstances he has no patience to analyse At once

he jumps to the wrong conclusion. He comes to imagine that all such men are the enemies of his race. And henceforth he may betray an attitude of distrust which is reacted by an equal distrust. Let me give you an historical example of personal grief transforming itself into whole-sale public revenge. The case of Raja Chandra, is well known in Bengal and Assam. He is popularly called the "Kala Pahar", the "Black Mountain". He was a Brahman, excommunicated by men of his caste. So he embraced Islam and rose to a high position. This took place in the second half of the sixteenth century. He was a commander of Nawab Daud's forces. He razed numberless temples and oppressed the Brahmins. Such examples are not lacking even today. Some young men, aggrieved by their own fellow men, shift to a new religion, and become fanatics of the most dangerous type.

You cannot imagine the monstrous havoc that interested Communalism has wrought in our country.

6

INTERESTED COMMUNALISM

Interested communalism has already been touched a little. Natural communalism is not half as dreadful as the interested one.

Men with the soundest minds are entangled in this quagmire. I was shocked beyond description to hear that a bosom friend of mine, a brilliant Muslim graduate of thorough patriotic views during his college

days, threw a stone at the procesion of the rival community during the Shahidganj Agitation I was stunned. I felt ill I could not believe my senses But it is true And similar accidents will ever be true Who is so godly as not to sacrifice youthful patriotism on the altar of self interest, if he is brilliant and enthusiastic and has as fair a chance of climbing up the communal ladder to a ministerial portfolio as anybody else ?

Self interest and national interest go ill together Selfishness is the mainspring of militant communalism The causes of communal selfishness are briefly discussed below —

7

COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION

Not less than eighty per cent of interested communalism, and communal disturbances emanating therefrom, are not only traceable, but easily proveable as due to the system of communal representation imposed upon India as a makeshift avowedly in the interest of the minorities. But unmistakably and beyond the very shadow of a doubt, it is intended as a Machiavellian policy of the ruling class. That is a fact. A dire fact But an inevitable human weakness for which we can blame Great Britain But should not accuse her How can we expect some men, whoever they be to give up the mighty privileges which they have been enjoying for centuries by a

single enactment of the Westminster ? Let us imagine ourselves in their position and think as men in the men's language. Can we reply the question in the affirmative. ? How can Great Britain afford to lose the "brightest Jewel" in its crown without a blow or a thorough change of heart ? I believe in the latter. I have full confidence in Mahatama Ghandhi's gospel of non-violence; and universal love. India is not the land where blood should be spilt. No bleeding here in thought, word or deed. The entire length & breadth of our country, from the Himalayas to Cape Camorin, is a Temple dedicated to the spirit of humanity. Swami Vivekananda has set forth the mission of Hindu faith & civilization. We should conquer the world not by force but in the might of the spirit "Let foreigners come," he cried, "and conquer the world with their armies, never mind. Up, India, and conquer the world with your spirituality ! Aye.....love must conquer hatred, hatred cannot conquer itself". (The History of British Civilization by Wingfield-Statford, page 1239, The soil of our sacred country could not be corrupted by the red philosophy of Russia or the redder philosophy of Germany We need neither socialism, nor capitalism nor imperialism, nor materialism On the citadels of India we should pitch the flags of spiritualism I am confident that more men will rise among us, men of the altitude of Mahatama Buddha & Mahatama Gandhi. These spiritual politicians must teach our English kith and kin, "Look here, brothers, we do not mind if you

rule But rule us well Treat us as you treat yourself Look after our starved folk as you look after your own Remember and that's very important Combine and Rule is a better policy better for you better for us, and better for the whole world, than divide and rule'

8

PATRONAGE

It is the Iron age of golden patronage Recommendationism rules supreme everywhere A man without a patron is a ship without a rudder Every person that sets out to earn a days living must have a certified character even though the certificate may be absolutely spurious And the patrons have a nice way-of not only certificating a character but also regulating

They are masters of minds & bodies & souls of all the subjects under their control An eminent professor of a Government College candidly told a friend of mine who had applied for a fee concession "You want something from the Government The Government also wants something from you It wants loyalty Similar is the attitude of all communal magnates who hold purse strings For the propagation of communalism they use the most powerful of instruments the lure of bread A person in a service has little freedom of will He must conform to the whims of his master if he does not want to be kicked out of his job The

interested communalists spread the contagion remarkably through their dumb followers, and leaven the whole neighbourhood, till it is ready to be baked in the oven of communal representation or a communal riot. The securing of votes in the approaching elections always happens to be the underlying motive

UNEMPLOYMENT

So ingenious is the machinery of our country. All men in reach of employment (and the irony is that the most educated men are the most involved) have to calculate on the table of communal representation. If you want to join a Medical or an Engineering College, you must find out how many students will represent your community, and whether you stand a fair chance in competition of marks with them in addition to other considerations, or whether it will not be more advisable to resist the temptation of spending two laborious years on the medical course during the Intermediate classes, there being no chance of being admitted to the Medical College and hence why not take up Pure Arts, the line of least resistance and subsequently swell the ranks of the unemployed graduates. Why talk of industrializing the country, while communalism is permitted to mar the careers of promising youth even in the professional & industrial colleges? What can be more shameful than allow communalism to devour the very heart of liberal

education ? Now come to vacancies in the Government Departments. It is clearly stated in the notifications that such and such number of men will be taken from this & that community. Where do you stand a chance if you find that only one man is to be taken from among the Christians, Sikhs, Jains & all non-described small minorities, and you happen to be one of their lot ? It throws iciest bucketfuls of water on the hopes of a prospective candidate. As to the Indian Civil Service Competition, only a member of the Muslim Community can have the stomach to put in a couple of years arduous labour with some prospects of getting in by competition, or more often by nomination.

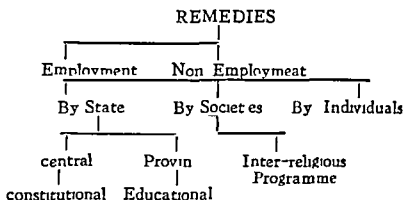
CHAPTER III

CURE OF COMMUNALISM

The principal fault with some Indian leaders and many Indian misleaders is that they do not look the communal problem squarely in the face. There is no use blaming the British alone. I don't say on earth that we should not blame the British. We should. Rather we must. But that's not enough. A blame is no blame. It won't heal the sores of mother India. We have to find a remedy. And we must find an Indian remedy, an Himalayan drug, if possible. We must find the medicine at Lahore rather than in London, in Delhi rather than Dublin, in Bombay rather than in Berlin. British imperialism won't help us, and if we try to climb up the Downing Street, we may go down for ever.

Every malady implies a remedy. Causes are accompanied by cures, 'Knowledge is Power' embodies a subtle truth. Which is nowhere more true than in the surgical science. Communalism is something pathological rather than physiological, in the body politic of India. So, in the natural course

of affairs the genealogical tree of causes should be followed by a genealogical tree of cures —



1

EMPLOYMENT AND COMMUNALISM

It is not so strange as it may appear to a superficial observer that the problem of employment should be so seriously entangled with the knotty puzzle of communalism. To me the solution of unemployment is of paramount importance. Unemployment is the key to some of the ghastly communal disturbances. These are the hungry dogs that fight. The hungry dogs must fight. That's the law of nature. Such a fight may be cloaked under social religious or political garments. The masses are swerving round the Indian National Congress simply because it holds out better prospects of bread and butter for them and for their coming generations than any other organisation.

The Government still maintains a light grip on the country in spite of all patriotic upheaval. It is because

of its boundless material benefits & security of person as well as property. Men of all ranks & degrees put their shoulders to its mighty wheels. Men, are animals even though rational. They care much for loaves than liberty, equality, fraternity, divinity, or any other "ty", except "Tea". Through complicated screws & wheels of the political machinery, the problem of unemployment has intensified the problem of communalism. This happens in two ways. In the private as well as the Government service:—

I. As I have already hinted at, the communal representation in the legislative assemblies is followed by communal representation in the matters of employment by the Government. Defective & deplorable as our system of education is. Our universities are nothing but gigantic factories for the manufacture of graduates, whose sole aim of life is to find service, preferably Government Service. But how can the Government provide work to everybody? That's impossible. Posts & vacancies are limited, and these are to be filled on communal basis. If jobs were plentiful & could be had for the asking, nobody would bother about the communal award at all. It is only when one vacancy is available for ten thousand candidates, that they are compelled to think. And comparison makes them dissatisfied. And this dissatisfaction has its inevitable effect on social & political outlook. Every community feels even the Muslims who get the lion's share these days, that justice is not being done to them on the basis of communal award. The Mohammedans of the Punjab have urged time & again, on the British

Government They deserve they say, a representation of more than even fifty six percent The Sikhs are determined to have not less than thirty-three percent of the total seats. So you cannot imagine the dissatisfaction of the Hindu graduates who believe themselves to be, and actually are, more intelligent than graduates of other communities Yet they have the fewest opportunities of finding a decent service while their friends among Muslims & Sikhs, of much less calibre, may be occupying high posts So, this is how communal award has been embittered and intensified by the growing tide of unemployment in the country

II As in the government service so in the private employment The pattern of communalism is followed all the more rigorously because here the seats are not distributed by a statute of the Westminster But these are entirely at the mercy of the individual employers. A Muslim magnate will usually try to fill the vacancies within his purview, as far as possible by the gentlemen of his own community Nothing less is to be expected by a Hindu financier And why talk of private firms ? Men in high public offices of the central and Provincial Governments follow the same iron policy Not long ago all India Radio was notoriously called B B C (Bokhari Brothers corporation and not 'British Broadcasting Corporation), certain officers and clerks having been recruited directly from the circle of friends and relatives of Mr A S Bokhari the deputy controller

of Radia. Talking purely of private firms in cases of retrenchment and reduction, these are men of the communities other than those of the financiers that are the first and the foremost to be axed or sacked out. A Hindu employee under a Muslim employer, and vice versa never feels his position secure, and usually takes the first opportunity to get a Government post or in some institution of his own community.

These are facts for which nobody is to blame, because blood is thicker than water. And when there is a question of providing livelihood, we naturally think first of those men who are near to us in body and in spirit than those who are men strangers to all intents and purposes. In other words, by the dint of natural instinct, the question of employment makes us think ourselves as Hindus, Muslims, Christians and Sikhs rather than as Indians. The extent to which unemployment embitters the communalist cannot be comprehended by the average observer. I am fully confident that communalism cannot be uprooted from India without at the same time tackling the problem of unemployment. Give food to a hungry man and convert him to Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, Internationalism or any other religion you want to impose upon him. Keep a youngman hungry and then see how his brain induces him to flaunt all traditional sanctity. He becomes a revolutionary, Communist or an enthusiastic communalist.

How unemployment is to be grappled with is in itself a comprehensive subject and does not follow

within the scope of my essay ' Having briefly discussed the importance of unemployment in connection with communalism, I beg leave to drop it.

2

NON EMPLOYMENT REMEDIES

Non employment remedies are those which deal directly with the problem in hand. The question of employment considered above was at best a digression but a digression of paramount importance. Judged by my own induction and deduction. We must not analyse a social problem as a scientist will dissect a frog. In the social science and more truly in the social life, the different branches have their own branches and all are knotted together into one compact whole. However the readers may differ with me I am thoroughly convinced that unemployment has intensified and embittered communalism. Now however, I intend to lay down some remedies, which do not cut the tree of communalism branch by branch but hew it root by root.

3

REMEDIES BY THE STATE

Remedies by the state can conveniently be classified as the central and the provincial. The central remedies are mostly constitutional and the provincial remedies are mostly educational, but this should not

be considered an exhaustive or mutually exclusive classification.

4

REMEDIES BY THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

The central Government, for all practical purposes, includes both Delhi and London. And it is the latter that we are concerned with even more than the former. Remedies by the central Government may be classified under two heads:—

I A change in constitution.

II. Proper type of propaganda.

As to the change in constitution, I have already set forth the monstrous evils of the Communal Award in some what detail. The Communal award does not appease communalism, as it ought to have done, but aggravates it. If the British Parliament is really sincere in defending the interests of minorities it should do so in a more humane way than by setting all communities by the ears, which have lived like sisters in perfect harmony since times immemorial. The communal award aims at defending the ants (I use the word in purely an innocent way) by arming them against the elephant.

I have been very lucky in catching Sardar Gurmukh Nihal Singh, Principal of H. L. College of Commerce, Ahmedabad, formerly the Dean of Faculty of arts, Benares University, who recently returned from the political Science Conference at Lahore, and came on a flying visit to Bombay this very morning.

I put to him two questions that have been-causing me a good deal of mental worry. My first anxiety was that many readers will think that I ought not to have dragged the question of unemployment in tackling the problem of communalism. So my first question was direct and definite, as I wanted to have my mind cleared once for all. 'Do you think that unemployment is not embittering the problem of communalism?' Certainly I said he 'In countries like America people do not care for service at all. They give up Government Jobs to enter business which they find more profitable. It is only when we are out for services that we encounter communalism in its most monstrous form. When there is no economic depression, there will be no communalism. My second question was more melancholy as I myself can very well visualise a national tragedy, if the present state of affairs continues, however remote it may be. What will be the ultimate outcome of the communal Award?' A Civil War I said the distinguished educationist in a sad and certain way. That is true a fact as hard as flint. A Civil War! The child of the Communal Award! And the grand-child of the British Parliament! It will sweep away all the blessings of the British rule and leave behind nothing but a stigma, a deplorable blot on the British statesmanship across the annals of the world.

There is no alternative to Communal Award except joint electorate if we want to continue the spirit of democracy. Unless of course we are willing to

return to the downright one-man rule of the mediaeval times. - It is fallacious to argue that the system of joint electorate will offend the rights of the minorities. Certainly not. It is only when the Hindu members are elected by the Hindus and Muslim members by the Muslims that our representatives in the Assemblies think in terms of communities. They feel themselves responsible to a community rather than to the country. They develop a Communal consciousness. And this initiates a national tragedy. When a Muslim thinks that he has to depend upon the votes of Hindus as well as the Muslims, however small the former may be in his favour, he is bound to think in terms of the country. He is sure to be elected even by offending his own community, if the best of his conscience so demands, because thereby he may be pleasing the Hindus and rallying them round himself as a hero for the next election. There will be purely a contest of merit and ability. And if a Hindu is better able to defend the rights of the Mohammadans, I am sure that the latter will vote for him. The best way to defend the minorities is to give them a hand in the election of all the representatives rather than a few isolated figures who can only protest against proceedings that aggrieve their community if they are in a minority. Or they will monopolize all political power and aggrieve the whole country, if they happen to be in a majority. There is absolutely no harm if not a single member is elected from a community, provided that community has a hand in the election of all the

members who feel politically and morally responsible to them. If Hindus as well as Muslims were represented only by the Hindus or only by the Muslims, for ever or alternately, so term by term. I am sure that the interests of both the communities will be better guarded than they are being done now. If Hindus were trusted with such high offices as ministries and generalships in the most autocratic days of the Moghul rule can they not now look to the welfare of Muslims. Here is an interesting passage from *The History of British Civilization* by Wingfield Stratford (page 757) which is worth pondering about — "India some people will say is not a nation, and never has been united under one government until the coming of the English. India is in fact, historically no more than a geographical expression. But no Hindu whose mind is not biased by Western thought, would even dream of making common government the test of unity. The amity to which India aspires, and which she has in such large measure possessed for many centuries is one of spirit. Even the formality of a common creed is no necessary qualification. The Sikh the Jain, even the Buddhist, so long as he remains within the circle of Indian influence may be said to have eaten the same spiritual meal and the same spiritual drink as the most orthodox Brahman. Even the Mohammedan in India is in some subtle way differentiated from other Mohammedans. His faith loses some of its fierce intolerance in time it becomes more mellow and urbane, it even dallies with notions of caste. So all

communities having a uniform spirit can certainly live together like goddesses, if the Communal Award were not hurled among us as the golden apple of discord, and by the Jupiters of London.

The second remedy adumbrated by me is the proper propaganda for communal appeasement by the high lummaries of the Central Government. This is feasible through press and pulpit as well as the All-India Radio. The last though already maintaining an appreciable standard of non-communal entertainments, will do well to supplement it by an active propaganda for communal harmony on the lines of the village uplift Programme. For instance, it should entertain with national songs and speeches that will cement the relations of different communities.

But we return to London again. No wholesome programme for communal harmony can be formulated at Delhi until it is dictated by London. If the dumb spirit of the Indian masses could manipulate a speech, I am sure that it will speak in this way:—“your Most Magnificent Majesty ! we do not want this Communal Award. Please take away this apple of discord. For centuries we have been living together hut by hut and heart by heart. If there be no alternative, please let us get rid of this sham democracy. Give us the blessings of a paternal monarchy. We shall be grateful if your Viceroy will rule us single-handed like Asoka, the pattern of Hindu rule, or like Akbar, the flower of the Muslim monarchy.” Then the Indian spirit will speak the words of Arjuna in the Battle of Maha-

bharāta, because the -Indian Spirit has remained unchanged through the centuries -“What is kingdom to us, your Majesty, what enjoyment or even life ? Those for whose sake we desire kingdom enjoyment and pleasure, they stand here in the Battle of the Communal Award, abandoning life and riches. Teachers, fathers, sons as well as grandfathers, mother s brothers, fathers-in-law, grandsons, brothers-in-law, and other relations. These I do not wish to kill your Majesty, though myself slain

5

PROVINCIAL REMEDIES

The activities of the Provincial Governments should be mostly Educational which occupy a very high place in eradication of Communalism But Education should be by no means the sole function of the Province But as matters stand it should be given a predominant position in the anti communal propaganda However one thing more must be taken care of in addition to Education And that is a rigid control of all communal propaganda through press and platform within the jurisdiction of every provincial government

Mass education is absolutely necessary before we can expect any workable solution of the communal tangle Of course these are educated and interested people who are at the back of all communal riots. But we must remember that the communal leaders can

produce anti-national passions in the minds of the masses. The latter are illiterate, ignorant, thoughtless and narrow-minded. Let them get educated, sufficiently lettered to have liberal views and think for themselves without being spoon-fed I am sure that the communal yeast will fall flat. Every Province should spend a lion's share of its revenue on Education. Wardha Scheme is being seriously considered. And I hope that something will be done ere long. Anyhow education is not only a concern Government Societies and individuals should also pool together their mights, minds moneys The Hon'ble Mian Abdul Haye, the Minister of Education, Punjab, has often emphasised the importance of "Each one, teach one." This is an excellent maxim and lays down the most practical way of educating the Indian masses from hut to hut and from hamlet to hamlet.

6

REMEDIES BY SOCIETIES

There are many societies with inter-religious and inter-national ideals. Somehow or other, they are doing nothing more than simply touching the skin of the communal problem. The heart of 'communalism goes on vigorously palpitating, promising to live on as long as the body politic of India. Still their work is not to be depreciated. Perhaps they are doing the spade-work. Perhaps the worldly leaven is against them. Perhaps their members are few and rare. And selfishness is ubiquitous. Perhaps they are working on

very solid foundation — the change of human heart

But I believe only in a vigorous attack on the communal monster. Vigorous very vigorous, as vigorous as possible. Communalism as I have told you repeatedly is a chronic disease. And as you very well know, desperate maladies require desperate remedies. Let all men interested in the welfare of humanity — humanity that overflows the borders of India and England — cement themselves into living organizations — organizations that are the embodiments of sincerity and self-sacrifice. Let us start an Inter-religious Society with definite and practical ideals which are as clear as crystal to the illiterate and half-illiterate masses. And let us go on multiplying these inter-religious Societies, with one uniform ideal, till we find them in all continents in all countries, in all cities in all villages in all streets and in all lanes. Since the societies are to be universal their common bondage must be simplicity itself. Their unified ideal should be brief, an indissoluble whole and yet capable of multitudinous expressions, to avoid the slough of mutual dissensions into which so many finest movements of the world have fallen. If you want an example the Theosophical Societies will supply it. I have lost faith in them because if a handful of theosophists cannot make up their differences how can we expect them to unite the whole world into an unbreakable brotherhood? So let an Inter-religious Society not become bottled itself. We must avoid internal as well as external conflict. The aims, the ideals, the purposes, the programme, the constitution, the bye-law

of all Inter-religious Societies should be summed up in one sentence:—

“By Love Serve One Another”

This nutshell the spirit, which is capable of manifesting itself into oceans of social activity. Every member should bind himself by this principle, although every Inter-religious Society is at liberty to frame its own individual programme according to social, political economic or circumstantial requirements

The following are a few items that must be immediately framed and vigorously put in to execution:—

I. INTER-RELIGIOUS PRAYER

We are badly in need of some prayer that will invoke all prophets and all people for the welfare of humankind. I have composed the following by way of a very crude example indeed —

“Almighty Father !

Make us worship

Bramah and Buddha,

Christ and Krishna,

Mohammad and Nanak.

As one in the world.

Fountain of Justice !

Let there be

No religious prejudices,

No national prejudices.

And personal prejudices

Be none in the world

Peerless Providence !

Give us ability,
Give us humility,
Give us unanimity
And let not man
Man shun in the world

Omnipotent God !

Let there be
No war among mankind
No battle no quarrel
No cannon, no bullet,
No gun in the world

Supreme Director !

Make us value
Past as an ounce
Future as a pound,
And present as
A ton in the world

Sublime vision !

Mould and make
Each child a star
Each woman a moon
And every man,
A sun in the world

If some greater literary genius will direct his energies to composing an Inter religious Prayer he will lay the world under a debt of everlasting gratitude

II INTER-RELIGIOUS BIBLE

The quintessence of all religious books, such as the Vedas, Koran, Bible and others, which are fundamentally homogeneous, should be squeezed into one Inter-religious Bible. In addition to the gospels of prophets and saints, the humane quotations from poets and philosophers, such as Saadi, Shakspeare, and Carlyle, should also be included.

III. INTER-RELIGIOUS TEMPLES

Some Temples should be built consistent with the spirit of modernism as well as inter-religiousness. These temples should be libraries most reverently holding the scriptures of all religions. Audience-halls for preaching inter-religious ideas; Museums where the best of East and West in painting and sculpture should be represented, and also theatres where educative films should be shown. I sanguinely look forward to a time when every city will have at least one such temple on the portals of which shall be inscribed "By Love Serve one Another."

IV. INTER-RELIGIOUS CONGREGATIONS

A time is fast coming when Inter-religious Congregations will be held in the Inter-religious Temples. Where Inter-religious prayers shall be read and Inter-religious Bibles studied. But let us prepare the grounds for that. Let us hold meetings and tell the

common people how every religion is inter religion at heart. How the teachings of all religions are essentially the same. Let us take an example. With the onrush of western civilization we feel there is no religion in India more distinctive than Sikhism. But if you study its history and its sacred scripture Guru Granth Sahib you will find that Sikhs have been most tragically misunderstood at home as well as abroad.

Sikhism is at once the earliest and the latest religion in the world.

It is the earliest in its simplicity, universality and sacredness of the symbols particularly the hair, the sanctity of which to us is paralleled only by the annals of the Vedic period. In that Golden Age of Hindu History all were Sikhs. Those were the times when the greatest legal punishment for a person was to have his hair cut. It is our proud privilege to claim Sri Ram Chandra Lord Krishna Arjuna Vyasa, Manu and other yogis and rishis as Sikhs.

It is also the latest religion in history as well as in heart. What was the mission of Guru Nanak the Founder of Sikhism? Undeniably and beyond the very shadow of a doubt it was Hindu-Muslim unity. (Of his two life-companions Bala was a Hindu and Mardana was a Mohammedan.) He went on pilgrimage to Hardwar as well as to Mecca. He studied both the Vedas and the Koran the quintessence of which is embodied in the Guru Granth Sahib. He had as many Mohammedan followers as the Hindus. When he shuffled off the mortal coil his body magical

lly disappeared from the coffin. Half the winding-sheet was buried by the Mohammedans. And the other half was cremated by the Hindus

It was Guru Gobind Singh who militarized the Sikhs for the defence of the poor, the oppressed, and the down-trodden. The word 'Khalsa' means "pure". All men with pure hearts are Khalsas. There have been, and there still are, innumerable Hindu and Mohammedan followers of our religion. They are called Sahjdharī Sikhs, and stand very high in the eyes of our Guru. It is an error to regard Sikhism as a separate religion. Sikhism is just a militarized movement for the defence and the welfare of the weak and the helpless, without distinction of caste, colour, creed or country. Sikhism is Scoutism.

V INTER-RELIGIOUS

Inter-religious Dinners should be held off and on. Men of all castes and creeds should be invited and food of the simplest quality should be served. By eating one meal, we shall become one people.

VI. INTER-RELIGIOUS HOLIDAYS

Holidays of all prophets should be celebrated by all people. Hindus should share the happiness of the Id's Day as well as Mohammedans should enjoy on Diwali along with their Hindu brethren. Christians should also join them. And similarly Christmas should be commemorated by all. Inter-religious Dinners should

be arranged on these occasions Personally I keep one or two Ramzan as's every year, sometimes a full week and intend keeping them for the full month along with my Muslim brethern There is no reason why should all Hindus Christians, and others not keep one or two Ramzan fasts to sympathize with the sister community

VII INTER-RELIGIOUS WELFARE

Let us think for the welfare of all men and women and children to whatever country and community they may belong Every person should bear the badge 'By Love Serve one Another' on the collar of his coat And be true to it in thought word and deed Our first and foremost duty is that we should fight the monster of unemployment.

VIII INTER RELIGIOUS MARRIAGES

There cannot be a firmer tie between community and community than inter-communal marriages Mr K L Gauba stated during the Shahid Gunj agitation that Muslims can not unite with Hindus, because the latter keep themselves aloof in all social matters of relationships. That's a fact however bitter it may be. We cannot expect a solid Hindu Muslim unity without a solid social kinship Consequently instead of being regarded columinous as it has been done through the ages, mightily deserve to be encouraged by all thoughtful men

IX. REMEDIES BY INDIVIDUALS

I have boundless faith in the capacity of individuals who work alone and single-handed but sincerely for the welfare of humanity. If a man has a mind to improve the world, but thinks that he cannot do any thing because nobody else will support him, he is guilty of serious self-deception. Improvements of far-reaching importance are carried out by common sincere men who work "as obscurely as corpuscles in our blood". A man who loves and serves people in his street is as great as a leader of international fame. If a single Hindu loves and serves the muslims whom he meets in his everyday life he creates an effect which is transmitted through generations and surpasses the influences created by a constitutional reform. A single sincere person has in him more potential powers of legislation and execution than a hundred British Parliaments. The ultimate laws of a country must be enacted by the hearts of individuals rather than the heads of parliaments. By reforming the individual, you can reform the society, but not vice versa. By reforming himself, an individual generates a spiritual force of unfathomable dimensions. He can reform anybody and everybody by a magnetic touch.

Every individual is a law to himself. He must carve out his own programme whether he wants to reform himself, his neighbour or the whole cosmos. Everyday business itself is capable of being transmuted into the highest and the noblest of social service if

we just think more of men we meet than money we get from them It is not for me to lay down lines which an individual intending to reform the society should follow It bleeds my heart to see how mankind is labouring under artificial maladies All troubles of the world would vanish like cobwebs if every man would look upon every other man as a friend rather than as a foe

CHAPTER IV

EPILOGUE

Unity may follow freedom, but freedom must follow unity. Therefore, there should be nothing dearer to the heart of an Indian than Hindu-Muslim unity. But what we want is a real heart-to-heart union and not merely a political temporarization. There is a need for mass contact between Hindus and Muslims and not merely a political conference between Congressites and Leaguers. What we want is social love rather than political hate.

What India needs most is love rather than liberty. What is the use of freedom to us if our motherland is rent asunder by communal bickerings ? International solidarity must precede political emancipation. Independence will be simply an apple of discord if we all, Hindus Muslims and others, have not learnt to live like brothers and sisters in perfect harmony. Communal Award is a great evil, but we must not cloak the greater evil in us. Otherwise how could a cup of honeyed poison set us by the ears ? Let us fight the brute outside us. Instead of overwhelming ourselves

Gandhi and Jinnah have sometimes met by appointment but then they have met with the spirit of political bargaining just as the two shopkeepers meet in the market. One amusing instance of misunderstanding between Gandhi and Jinnah was Gandhi's letter to Jinnah which was suppressed by the British Government although Jinnah had stated that nobody dare suppress it.

'This letter of Mr Gandhi can only be construed as a move on his part to embroil the Muslim League to come into clash with the British Government solely for the purpose of helping his release so that he would be free to do what he pleases thereafter' said Mr M A Jinnah president of the All India Muslim League, in a statement commenting on the Delhi communique.

Mr Jinnah added "There is really no change of policy on the part of Mr Gandhi and no genuine desire to meet the suggestion that I made in my speech during the session of the All India Muslim League at Delhi. Although I have always been ready and willing to meet Mr Gandhi or any other Hindu leader and shall be still glad to meet him yet merely expressing his desire to meet me is not the kind of ephemeral letter that I suggested in my speech that Mr Gandhi should write and which has been now stopped by the Government. I have received a communication from the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department dated May 24th that Mr Gandhi's letter merely expresses a wish to meet me and

willing to come to a settlement with the Muslim League on the basis of Pakistan, we were willing to bury the past and forget it. I still believe that the Government will not dare to stop such a letter if it came from Mr. Gandhi.

'I regret that the Congress press, as usual, is indulging in cheap gibes and slogans based on the publication of isolated passages from my speech and even these are mutilated and important words are eliminated from them. This may serve as a misleading and inimical propaganda but is not calculated to create a friendly atmosphere which is essential.

'In my opinion the press and those who are indulging in various thoughtless statements are doing a great dis service

2

JINNAH ADVISES GANDHI

One of the severest attacks on Gandhi was launched by Jinnah immediately after the failure of the Simla Conference in August 1945

Mr Jinnah analysed the Simla Conference] and said :

The first question is why did Mr Gandhi as one of the leaders of the recognised parties go to Simla; having gone there why did Mr Gandhi not attend the conference, the reason is simple. It is to play the role of a wire-puller. He was not merely content with being an adviser of the Congress and its Working

Committee, but he constituted himself as an adviser of the Viceroy and through him the British nation. Mornings and evenings, the Working Committee meetings took place and he was the guiding spirit behind. When it suits him, he represents nobody; he can talk in individual capacity; he is not even a four-anna member of the Congress; he undertakes fast to decide the political issue; he reduces himself to zero and consults his inner voice; yet, when it suits him, he is the supreme dictator of the Congress. He thinks he represents the whole of India. Gandhi is an enigma. How can he come to a settlement with him; there was so much venom and bitterness against the Muslims and the Muslim League that the Congress were prepared to go to any length with two objectives. First, to hammer down, humiliate and discourage the Muslim League and every method was adopted to bully us, coerce us and to threaten us to surrender; the second was to see the Muslim League was ignored and bypassed and for that purpose, they stooped to the lowest point; that they threw up their principles to the winds. The Congress leaders who championed "Quit India" and complete independence and of which they make every year declarations, went to Simla defeated, frustrated and scared and threw themselves at the feet of Lord Wavell to secure certain portfolios, because there was no question of self-government within the framework of the present constitution.

In order to be on the right side of Lord Wavell, they first tried to beat down and second so work him

up as to get him bypass the League through a short-sighted and miscalculated policy adopted at Simla which was a complete failure. Now, they accuse Lord Wavell of breach of faith and allege that he had given an assurance to ignore and bypass the League. I don't believe it. Even if he wanted it, he could not have done it.

'TWO MAJOR NATIONS

There are only two major parties in this country and Lord Wavell's broadcast was the very conception of it. Invitations issued to Mr. Gandhi and myself were on the basis that Mr. Gandhi was the recognised leader of one of the parties and myself the leader of the other. The British called them parties, but in fact they are two major nations. There is no doubt that other minorities must be assured of safeguards but that is not the case with ten crores of Muslims who happen to be a majority in the north western and north eastern zones where they want to establish Pakistan. Because the British turned down the Congress proposals at Simla they accused the British Government of having given me the veto. This people do not know the meaning of veto or they try to misrepresent it. Let us see. There is no question of veto. The proposal was for an interim government under the present constitution. I have already given my reasons that it was unjust and unreasonable. Congress cannot expect us to agree to what they want however detrimental to our interests that may be. What does the Congress

want; they want to establish a Hindu Raj. But the League wishes Hindustan god-speed and freedom for Hindustan. At the same time we want to establish Pakistan in two zones where we are in a majority. Unless Mr. Gandhi and the Congress give up their dreams of establishing Hindu Raj and by hook or crook bringing the Muslims into it for which they have been determinedly working, they cannot expect us to transfer ourselves from the British Government to a Hindu Raj.

People say the conference was a failure I would say the conference is wound up for all time. Since 1940 because of war we offered our hand of co-operation to Britain for defence and prosecution of war. We did not want any aggression either from Hitler or from the Mikado. In our own interests, therefore, we were ready to co-operate. For, what would we have gained otherwise. Our homes and hearth would have been bombarded both in north-eastern and north-western zones where Muslims are in a majority. If Hitler had succeeded we would have been thrown from the frying pan to the fire. Therefore, it was a war emergency which called for an interim settlement for the successful prosecution of the war. When Lord Wavell went to England the war in Europe had not finished. But now remember the war in Europe is over and the war in the Far East is almost coming to an end. Japan is concentrating in her own homelands hundreds of miles away. There is no use of talking of interim settlements now. Let us go ahead with measures of Permanent

constitutional settlement Pakistan must be decided if the issue of freedom and independence of India is to be decided. We will never surrender on the issue of Pakistan to anybody as our claim is a just and righteous one and is the only solution for India

3

GANDHI ADVISES JINNAH

Under the caption, 'An Appeal to Quaid-e-Azam Gandhi wrote in the *'Harijan'* once —

'I have been painfully but regularly going through the English weeklies that come to me and that are devoted to the cause of the Muslim League I read them so as to keep myself informed of what the Muslim League thinks. Not a week passes but these weeklies contain what to me appear to be distortions of truth and vilification of the Congress and Congressmen and Hindus. What has prompted me to write these lines is a virulent attack on Hinduism in one of the weeklies. Here is an abstract from the article" —

Hinduism is the greatest curse of India, and it is based on intolerance and inequality. To call one self 'Hindu is to confess that one is reactionary and narrow minded. No decent civilised, honest and sincere human being who knows what Hinduism is and what it stands for would like to be known as a Hindu or join this faith of primitive barbarians. For it is on barbarity that this so-called religion is based. No other word can describe the state of

EXIT THE BOTH

Although I have no sympathy for Dr Ambedkar and his ideas, I cannot overlook his correct estimate of Gandhi and Jinnah, advising them both to quit the political field. We may humbly request him to join them and form a trio outside India.

Asserting that Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress High Command had displayed utter political bankruptcy, Dr B R Ambedkar, addressing a mass meeting held under the auspices of the Scheduled Class Federation this evening pleaded that Mahatma Gandhi should retire from active politics. He added that Mr M A Jinnah, President of the Muslim League who has taken up an impossible position should also retire. He said that unless both the leaders quitted the stage, any move for lifting Indian politics from the present quagmire was hopeless. It was only then that Indian politics might be expected to move on a line that might help the country towards its progress.

Dr Ambedkar said that Mahatma Gandhi was by far the most fortunate politician that had ever been born. He was fortunate because he had all the necessities for effective politics for the mere asking while other political leaders had to spend half their lives in collecting them. Mahatma Gandhi had both manpower and money power in all abundance while the late Tilak, Ranade and Gokhale never

had money-power and for man power they had to spend whole of their lives in collecting it. With all that, Mahatma Gandhi's political career had been a series of failures during the last 25 years. His politics was no doubt very exciting as compared with the placid politics of Gokhale or Ranade. But there was one thing quite certain, namely, that the politics and methods of Gokhale and Ranade would never have led the country to its present unfortunate position of having to divide the country. Mahatma Gandhi's politics had resulted in that tragedy. 'Instead of getting Svaraj', Dr. Ambedkar declared, "and discussing that solitary question, we at the end of journey have been presented with totally different problems which probably Gokhale and Ranade would never have permitted to arise".

CHAPTER II

CONGRESS AND LEAGUE

If the League seriously decides to become a democratic body, the difference between the Congress and the League will disappear in the thin air. Let the titled gentry retire and give the reins of leadership to the masses. An effort should be made to enlarge its constitution so that non-Muslims can acquire membership. Is it really too late for the Muslim League to become Hindu-Muslim League? Let us hope it is not.

I

POPULAR INFLUENCE

Popular influence in the League as in the Congress has often asserted itself, but whereas the Congress has encouraged it the League leadership has often damped popular enthusiasm. This happened in the Khilafat Movement when the popular enthusiasm was so great among the Muslims that they broke away from the reactionary leadership. At a low level it has always happened, and the spirit of revolt is not dead.

among the Muslims against the reactionaries. For instance great enthusiasm was created when the Government suppressed the letter of Gandhi addressed to Jinnah, but the League leadership did not act wisely.

"The refusal of the Government of India to allow the letter written by Mr Gandhi to reach Mr. Jinnah will be condemned by all sections of public-opinion both in and out of India." said Seth Yusuf Abdulla Haroon, M. L. A., (Central) and Joint Secretary of the Sind Provincial Muslim League in a statement to the press. Mr. Haroon added "For Muslim India, it is a particular matter of great concern, especially as Qaid-i-Azam had emphatically warned the Government from taking such an unwise step. I feel that Muslim India stands to-day on the threshold of a momentous decision. Darkness seems to envelop the entire political firmament of India. But I see on the horizon a silver lining, for in the person of Qaid-i-Azam, we have a leader of vision, patriotism and determination. The eyes of the Muslim nation are now turned on him. In his sagacious leadership Muslims have implicit faith."

2

CAREERISM

While, the Congress is not free from the pest of careerists, the Muslim League has long been under their heel, although recently the League has also began to shake itself and keep clear of the careerists

as far as possible. The reception that Sir Feroze Khan Noon has had in the League circles shows that the members of the League are now on their guard and properly expect a period of apprenticeship from the new entrant.

In a typically quixotic fashion Sir F. K. Noon resigned from the Viceroy's Council. Some say he asked for a Governorship, others say he wanted to be the Agent General to the United States, but Wavell shook his head — as only experienced Generals can — with a decisive no. Besides the Simla Conference had proved to Noon that the reward for "services rendered" abroad had come to an end and people now talked foolishly of their representatives. The Punjab backdoor did not work and Jinnah wanted credentials before nomination. Noon referred to the letters from the states and U. K. for all he had done for Pakistan but Jinnah did not play. So Noon decided to become a 'selfless worker' of the League and resigned.

The night of the 14th September saw him at the Delhi Main Station on his way to conquer the Punjab. The prospective Fuehrer of the Land of Five Rivers had no one but a few I. C. S. hangers on and relations to wish him luck in bringing about unity among the Muslims of his beloved province. The next morning at Lahore Punjab League stalwarts welcomed their deliverer from the oppression of Unionist Raj but when he asked to be made member of the Provincial Election Board he was told that

such petty affairs better be left to smaller fry. He went to address the provincial League Working Committee, and they greeted him with open arms, but adjourned the meeting and did not resume their proceedings till he went away. Out of thirty Muslim Unionists he had written to secretly to join him in smashing the "traitor to Islam" only four or five came and talked of Kings and Cabbages. Out of the eighteen Pirs and Sajjadanashins he had invited to give a 'fatwa' in his favour, only two turned up. The Premier was away on tour, and was not to be found to receive the staggering blows of the new leader in the cause of Islam. These were however, minor matters, so he made a great speech asking the 'brothers of the Millat in the Punjab' to unite, but added that "I do not want to-day to utter a word against Unionist Muslims unless I am convinced that they do not want to be united with the other Muslims." Asked whether he had any proposals to make to the Punjab Premier, Noon said that he had none except that he would try his best to persuade him to join the League. Later, feeling this was not good enough, he opined "This effort at an understanding should not take more than a week or ten days" The "self-less worker" did not fail to remind the Pressmen that he had no desire to seek election or to hold any office unless he was pushed into it. This ended the first day of the great campaign for Pakistan.

The whole of next week provided no opportunity for serving the Millat. Hardly anyone came to see him

to enable him to deliver another great oration. He felt quite tired waiting in the lounge of Faletti's Hotel and walked up and down all the corridors. Lady Noon felt depressed and thought the afternoon was already at hand. By force of habit he tried to revive his spirits by once again serving his erstwhile masters. He told the "Associated Press" that a Council of British Nations (Dominions and India) was a good thing. If for the purpose of common defence and economic development we have to keep close together personal contacts are essential. He had for a moment forgotten Divide and Quit India slogan of the Quaid-i-Azam. Then with regard to Wavell's announcement — criticized both by the League and the Congress — he forthwith said that the Viceroy or H. M. G. could not have aid or done anything else in the circumstances. Thus while the Blitz against Tiwana progressed somewhat tardily Noon kept himself busy in serving those he has never failed for the last twenty years.

At last the day of judgment arrived. On September 23 Noon encountered the Punjab Premier. The talk lasted for three hours and the promised public statement was not forthcoming because, he said, "We have decided that neither of us should make a public statement." The great task was accomplished. Noon joined the League as a selfless worker and got pushed into deciding to stand for elections. The Unionists stood where they were and so did the League. In conclusion, Noon and Lady Noon left for Quetta.

for a holiday. May be, there the Quaid-i-Azam would inspire them to embark upon a fresh campaign this time to win a certain victory against the 'enemies' of Islam.

In a statement to the press, Khan Bahadur Sheikh Fazl Mohammad, Parliamentary Secretary to the Punjab Government, refers to Sir Feroze Khan Noon's recent speech at Rawalpindi where he is reported to have described the Unionist Party as a "stumbling block" in the path of India's freedom, and says :

"It would appear that in addition to his sudden love for the Muslim League, Sir Feroze has also developed a consuming desire for the freedom of his country. It is interesting to recall the stages by which his patriotism has grown.

"As a Minister in the Punjab, Sir Feroze was never known to be among great nationalists or lovers of freedom. After quitting the Punjab, pro-British propaganda in foreign countries was his special line of public activity. Occasionally he over-did his part and embarrassed even the Britishers. The highlight of a series that astonished Britain and India was that India had already acquired Dominion status, without the British Government or anybody else having become aware of the change.

"On his return from San Francisco recently, he found that his seat in the Executive Council was in serious jeopardy because the British Government had decided upon a new policy in the shape of the Wavell plan. Sir Feroze, therefore, changed over-night, and

according to the newspaper reports tried to torpedo the Wavell plan by describing it as far short of Dominion status and unsatisfactory to India's political aspirations. This sudden patriotism on the part of Sir Feroze only elicited ridicule from every quarter. Lord Wavell adhered to his plan and the Simla conference was held.

Sir Feroze now adopted a new line of strategy to secure for himself another term of office in the Executive Council. It is an open secret that he sought the help of the Unionist Party as well as the Muslim League and to disarm the Congress opposition to his inclusion in the list of selection, even performed pilgrimage to Armsdale to seek forgiveness for his San Francisco sins and anti-Congress activities of the past. After the Herculean efforts came Sir Feroze's supreme disappointment in life which he described

We all were looking forward to the realisation of our life long dreams when due to the part played by the Punjab Premier the conference broke up abruptly.

'One can understand Sir Feroze's bitterness and fully sympathise with him. I wish, however, to assure him that as usual he is wrong about his facts. It was the fundamental difference between the Congress and the Muslim League that led to the failure of the conference, as explained by the presidents of the two bodies in their public statements. Even Mr Jinnah, threw the main responsibility on the Congress and could only make a passing reference to the Punjab Premier while Sir Nazim ud-Din and Dr Khan

Sahib absolved him of all blame. Sir Feroze's belated discovery that Malik Khizar Hayat broke up the conference is on a par with his other discoveries of the kind, including the one, mentioned above, namely that India had already attained Dominion status.

"Sir Feroze has been in office for a continuous period of about 20 years. If his desire to sit in the Executive Council for another term as a joint nominee of the Muslim League and the Unionist Party has not been fulfilled, I would advise him to have a little patience and not go about venting his sense of disappointment in an unseemly manner. Politicians cannot always hope to remain in office. If he remains loyal to his new political alliance and does not again change colours, he may succeed in outwitting his present rivals in the Muslim League camp and again get the same kind of cream out of politics as he has been getting in the past with the help of the Unionist Party "

3

LEAGUE-CONGRESS DIFFERENCES

The League Congress differences are ideological and this has been realised by the Muslims themselves. The League High Command does not as yet seem to understand the aspirations of the poor Muslim masses. The Calcutta riots and the Bengal Famine, in both of which thousands of poor Muslims have died side by side with their poor Hindu brethren, are the greatest blot on the incapacity of the League Ministry to

work with and for the masses. Thus spoke M. Abdur Rehman of Bengal.

Muslim League does not represent the Muslims of India. The League President did not raise his little finger to help the Muslim majority province of Bengal when millions were dying of starvation and yet Mr. Jinnah wants Pakistan for the welfare of the Muslims of India.

I challenge that within fifteen days of the British quitting India the Hindu-Muslim problem would disappear and the people of India would decide Pakistan, as they like as free people.

Sir Mohammad Iqbal's son Mr. Aftab Iqbal has addressed the following open letter to Mr. Jinnah—

Dear Mr. Jinnah, — Now that the Viceroy has refused to allow the League to form the interim Government the only honourable course left open to you is either to start a passive resistance movement and fight the Government or come to a reasonable settlement with the Congress or quit the League along with your aristocratic colleagues who constitute the League High Command. That is the only way you can prove your worth as a leader especially as the leader of the Muslim Community. You are, perhaps not aware of the fact that you are becoming increasingly unpopular with the Muslim masses and the Muslim intelligentsia. When the Viceroy fixed the number of the members of the new Executive Council in the interim Government at 12 on the fifty-fifty basis you were not only agreeable but quite pleased, when he

increased the number to 13 you agreed to that also. When he raised the number to 14 you meekly submitted to his decision. What does it show ? In my judgment it shows that you do not want to displease your British masters and consequently have not the courage to go against their wishes. But if this charge is incorrect you must come forward and prove to the Mussalmans of India that you are capable of coming into conflict with the Government for the honour and the Muslim Community for whose progress and welfare you feel so much anxiety. The Muslims of India want to be convinced that their Qaid-i-Azam can go through the trials and hardships of prison-life for the sake of the Muslim League as the Congress leaders were able to undergo such hardships for the sake of the Indian National Congress. /

During the last election the provincial henchmen of the League lords duped the Muslim peasants in the name of God and the Holy Prophet in order to swell their numbers in the Provincial Legislatures. They took advantage of their ignorance when they needed their votes, but now when they are being subjected to so many disabilities for lending their support to the League not one of your League lords or any of their provincial supporters is prepared to listen to their grievances and offer them even a few words of sympathy. Given a sufficient amount of ignorance, credulity which, strangely enough, often co-exists with good intelligence and a man wealthy and daring enough to push forward and declare

himself to be a saviour of Islam in a subject country like India. It is not difficult to invent a political theory and to build an organisation whose creed is political servility. And in the Punjab even an ill woven net of a few theological expressions and religious slogans can capture the innocent Muslim peasant who has been for centuries exposed to all kinds of exploitation. Had my father lived up to this day he would have been the first to condemn the present League High Command and worked for its downfall. The League Hitlerite clique must go and make room for men who truly represent the masses of Islam. The League must be a people's movement.

Mr K L Gauba Chairman of the Khaksar Parliamentary Board in the course of a statement refuting certain allegations in a section of the press says: 'In my opinion the policy of the Muslim League now is not the policy that any Muslim who is a nationalist at heart can accept, nor do I believe that if at any time the interests of the Muslim community would be in danger the Muslim League would do anything substantial apart from passing resolutions. Now, at the time of elections there seems to be no reason why those who have borne the brunt of the battle in the past should be sacrificed over the arm-chair politicians.'

SEPARATE ELECTORATES

Separate Electorates are the root cause of India's troubles

"If in this critical hour of trial, stress and strain, the attitude of the British Government remains unalterable and the British statesmen will not change their mentality, the whole world should know that we will not forget the injustice done to our country and shall keep alive the aim of freedom and self government till the end of our lives", said Maulana Husain Ahmad Madani, in the course of his presidential address at the Thirteenth Session of the Jamait-Ulema-i-Hind

The Maulana quoted at length the different declarations of the British Government and its chief spokesmen, beginning with the famous 1857 Declaration of Queen Victoria onwards until the British declaration of war on behalf of India in 1939. "It was 'natural,'" said the Maulana, "for India to demand a declaration of the war aims of the British Government. The declarations which were made in this connection said practically nothing about the fate of India in the post-war world. As a consequence of this hopeless attitude of the British Government the various political parties in India decided their own policies, which resulted in a constitutional deadlock in eight of the eleven provinces of British India "

The Maulana expressed great concern over the

simultaneous dark shadows of war that were being cast over India, both from the East and the West and the nonchalant attitude of British Government He declared that if in this critical hour the attitude of the British Government should change 'We cannot forget our aim of freedom and self government to the end of our lives.

DIVIDE AND RULE

Maulana Husain Ahmad Madani next dealt with the communal problem the origin of which he attributed to the British policy of 'divide and rule" in India He quoted historical evidence to show that before the advent of the British rule this problem did not exist in this country

He then referred to the problem of Separate Electorates and said that a politically conscious group among the Mussalmans thought that the system of Separate Electorates was detrimental to the interests of that intercommunal harmony and goodwill which was so essential for a country like India "The Jamiat he added had, after long deliberations adopted the principle of Joint Electorates with reservation for the safe-guard of Muslim rights

CHAPTER III

HINDUSTAN AND PAKISTAN

If Pakistan is established by plebiscite, it will be a golden achievement of democracy, but if it is enforced like the carving of a biscuit of Czechoslovakia, it will be a feather in the cap of Hitler even though he may be buried ten fathoms below the earth. Hitler is dead but Hitlerism survives. Let not Muslim League preach the gospel of fascism.

1

FROM UNITY TO DISUNITY

K M. Munshi wrote the following illuminating article in **Social Welfare**:—

So long as Gandhiji was making an earnest attempt at communal settlement it was but proper that I should place my views before him, not before the public. I may now break my silence on the Gandhi-Jinnah talks. All these years I have been anxious for the just liquidation of the Hindu-Muslim differences. But I never expected that the Rajaji formula.

conceived though it was in more than generous a spirit, would ever be accepted by Mr Jinnah

Mr Jinnah will make no alliance on a concession of Pakistan conditional on a plebiscite and will not rest content with territories which are predominantly Muslim. He would not agree either, to any central authority limited even to strictly federal Subjects. His object, as I have said repeatedly during the last three years and what is clear from his letters to Gandhiji, is to destroy Indian Nationalism by undermining the faith in India as Motherland on which it is founded. Between Gandhiji who believes that religious conversion does not transform a national into a foreigner and Mr Jinnah who thinks it does, so far as Muslims are concerned there was no common ground from the beginning.

The first contention of Mr Jinnah indicated in his letter of the 25th September, 1944 is that the Muslims of India are a Nation. If this is accepted it will mean that when India is divided into two, every person converted — by conviction coercion or corruption — would suddenly cease to become a national and become a quelling. The Hindu converted to Islam in Hindustan at the moment of his conversion would become a foreigner. The Muslim converted to Hinduism in Pakistan would equally become a Sudetan Hindu. If Muslims and Hindus are separate nations, then Muslims in Hindustan and Hindus in Pakistan would be foreigners in their own respective lands of birth. The idea has to be

examined to discover the absurdity on which it is based.

Religious belief as a basis of nationality is unknown to modern theory or practice in politics. Ireland is divided into two political governments on the basis of predominantly Protestant and Roman Catholic populations. But conversion of an Ulster Protestant into Roman Catholic Church does not make him a foreigner in Ulster. Nor does the conversion to Protestantism in Eire make a man a foreigner there, or a national of Ulster. The Federal Government of Canada was a compromise between the English and the French inhabiting separate provinces. The English were Protestants and the French mainly Catholic. Even so conversion makes no difference in the national and civic rights of the citizens. Even in Middle East the religious bond has in modern times been displaced by the national one. In the old army of the Ottoman Empire there was distrust between the Turks and the Arabs though they were of the same faith. Ataturk wisely refused to include any Arab areas in new Turkey inspite of the community of faith, for he knew the bond of nationality has a greater hold than the bond of religion.

PRINCIPLE OF NATIONALITY

This principle of nationality based on religious belief is Mr. Jinnah's political day dream, a mediaeval idea resurrected in order to harness religious passions to popularise Disruptionism.

The effort at settlement foredoomed to failure though it was has revealed to the public the nature and extent of Disruptionism to which time and again I have drawn attention. First it wants to destroy the Faith in India as a Mother, which provides a living urge to millions in this country. Secondly it wants to carve out a Muslim India with a huge Hindu lebensraum. Lastly, it wants a girdle of hostile states with sovereign powers so complete as to menace the life of India and to a certain extent of Asia.

In the above quoted letter, Mr Jinnah's suggestion No. (4) is that Pakistan as a sovereign state has to comprise Sind, Baluchistan, North Western Frontier, Bengal and Assam, subject to territorial adjustments the nature of which has not been defined. Anyway the principle embodied in the Rajaji formula of division on the basis of the communal preponderance of population is rejected. One has to visualise a sovereign state stretching from Karachi to Peshawar then down to Jullundur, with a huge territory in the East comprising the bulk of Bengal and Assam, and another sovereign state which begins say from Jullundur and stretches down to Cape Comorin.

Mr Jinnah rejects any common policy as regards defence, customs or external affairs. He declines to accept any common central machinery, and the national rights of each of the sovereign state is not to depend upon domicile or local allegiance but upon conversion from one faith to another. This would immediately imply two warring sovereign states with

Sudetan subjects on either side of the frontier. This must mean a protracted warfare between the two sovereign states which would never be liquidated unless either a foreign power steps in to conquer both and brings back the position of foreign domination as in British India of 1944 !

FEDERATION OF PROVINCES

It is possible to devise a Federation of provinces which are either predominantly Hindu or predominantly Muslim. In such a Federation the Centre would enjoy control of the federating Muslim provinces only as regards strictly federal subjects. If the Hindus want a Nation State it is no business of the Mussalmans to impose provincial autonomy upon them. It is also possible to devise a federation which may have three sub-federations : A Sub federation of Hindu provinces, a sub-federation of Muslim provinces and a sub-federation of Indian States. But the division of India into sovereign states is an unreal basis for any political settlement in this country. As a day dream it is dangerous. In practice it is unrealisable. Hindus will oppose it. So will all sensible Muslims. Indian princes will never agree to it Britain won't have it. Postwar international order will not permit it.

If the lessons of history are not to be forgotten altogether it is impossible to harness centrifugal forces like those for which Pakistan stands by mere good intentions and friendly treaties. Communities distrustful of each other only learn to work together

for common ends, if they are disciplined within the established framework of power. In our detestation of the British Rule we ignore this truth: we had ministries we flung them away; we had the certainty of federal unity under the Act of 1935 we spurned it. We had the Cripps Offer to fight our way to a higher international status shoulder to shoulder with others we laughed at it. We are now paying the price. How can a compromise, however friendly, with no sanction to enforce it achieve unity of aim and effort between two sovereign states?

Mr. Jinnah's immediate object however, as his letters show, is to destroy the faith in Nationalism. During the past few weeks therefore the anguish of my spirit has known no bounds. My immense confidence in Gandhiji as the Nation's symbol, at times I found shaken — I confess to my shame I thought he might yield to the temptation of a compromise which might hinder the national destiny. My doubts were unjust. I cannot do better than publicly confess my shame of having entertained the doubts, even in stray weak moments that Gandhiji might not stand for the faith which he has done so much to rear.

FAITH IN INDIA

To me, this faith in India as a nation as the Mother, is the only thing that counts. I nourished it under Arvind Ghose. I felt that strength of a giant when Gandhiji called the partition of India denial of God. To me 'Vande Mataram' is not a political

song It is a hymn which daily pledges me to the worship of Divinity In solitude and company, in power and despair expressed in dramas, novels and history of the last thirty years, I have felt the enthusiasm to break Her fetters, to see blood flow for Her freedom; to mingle with the fathers of my race who served Her. In more ecstatic moments I have seen Her as free as She is great, and yearned to die at Her feet. I know this faith is shared by millions in this land, I have seen young boys cheerfully going to the gallows for it. Why should we forswear it ?

Why should we throw away this Faith rooted in the soil of the holy land, on which all that is noble and strong in modern life is reared ?

The shadow of defeat may be athwart the land. Doubts, empty slogans, false hopes might fill the air. "Divide and be free" was the slogan of the faith-bereft. With anguished soul I asked myself, has faith in the Motherland fallen ? Does the perennial herosim of the undaunted will no longer serve it ?

I prayed and pray that this faith in India, one and indivisible, may remain unshaken; that its flame may leap from heart to heart. In matter of faith, I spurn the hateful realities of politics. We may fail to reach the goal of a free Akhand Hindustan in a lifetime; but the faith shall remain unshaken. There is no defeat over which it will not triumph I know this faith will kindle fresh enthusiasm The banner of Akhand Hindustan will be siezed before it slips. It will be raised anew and borne through the ages.

HINDU RAJ AND MUSLIM RAJ

Mr Mohamed Ali Jinnah may refuse to define the Pakistan he stands for, but there can be little doubt judging from the utterances of his lieutenants, that if that impossible dream were to come true, it would be a fanatic edition of Muslim Raj which will create its own problems between one Muslim sub community and another. If Pakistan is not the same thing as Muslim Raj we invite Mr Jinnah to say so publicly. When he says that there can be no Indian Swaraj without Pakistan as he is reported to have said at Cawnpore what he really means is that there can be no Swaraj at all, for Swaraj and Pakistan are contradictory and mutually exclusive terms. But the fact is becoming more and more apparent that Mr Jinnah is working for a religious revival and as a reaction to his campaign is anticipating a similar revival among the Hindos. What else can he mean when he says that in order to liberate seven crores of Muslims where they are in a majority he is 'willing to perform the last ceremony of martyrdom if necessary and let two crores of Muslims be smashed and sacrificed at the altar we presume of Hindu Raj?

A leader who can realise that there can be no Hindu Muslim unity until Hindus give up the dream or Hindu Raj should also be able to realise that there can be no Hindu Muslim unity until Muslims give up

the dream of Muslim Raj. It is no use Mr. Jinnah trying to interpret the Congress leaders in whatever manner he likes and then trying to assail his own interpretation of their statements. It may please the illiterate section of his audience, but is hardly likely to endear him to the thoughtful section of his community. If, as he said at Cawnpore, Mahatma Gandhi's efforts to establish communal concord were made in such a way that led the Muslims to think that he wanted to establish Hindu Raj in India and make Muslims the slaves of the majority community, what was there to prevent Mr. Jinnah from making his own efforts to establish communal harmony in the country? Why should Mr. Jinnah assume that the establishment of communal harmony is a monopoly of Mahatma Gandhi? It is the right and duty of every Indian patriot to try to promote it to the best of his ability. Every man and woman in this country has a right to suggest his or her solution of the acceptance of that solution. What may we ask, has been Mr. Jinnah's contribution in this direction?

3

PAKISTAN MEANS DISASTER

Thus wrote Prof. B. J. Vaswani in the Sind Observer dated August 31, 1944:—

The Muslim League, pampered in the past by the easy appeasements of the National Congress and astute patronage of the British Paramount Power,

has now become an all-devouring parasite for the fair plant of Indian nationalism. The more sap it is allowed to suck from this plant the more tendrils it throws out in all directions to squeeze still more life out of it. Thus it happens that on the eve of new appeasements offered by the Rajaji-Gandhi formula Jinnah has already begun to talk of annexing new and undefined territories to secure economic self-sufficiency for an otherwise bankrupt State. The fatter the parasite becomes, the greater is the extension of its area of mischief till it overwhelms the parent tree, and itself falls down dead. That is what is going to happen to Hindustan, the one homeland of Muslim and Hindu, the great banyan tree which has sheltered many races and many creeds, which for untold centuries has flowered into a variety of cultures all claiming one eternal source of life and power. The dream of a long line of prophets, priests and kings, the great slow toil of the spirit of Indian history is about to be destroyed by the mole-eyed, faint-hearted action of the present day politicians — and the future will curse every one of them (not excluding Gandhi) if they do not halt in their mad-career of appeasement on one side and bargaining bullyism on the other.

PISTOL AT INDIA'S HEART

The question of what is the righteous thing to do, and what is unrighteous, seems to be no consideration with some of our national leaders today. They only

see that a section of India's population, encouraged into uncompromising and irrational avidity, holds a pistol at the heart of India, and feel that the proper way to save the Motherland is to throw up our hands and let the bully brother have his way. Is this the Gandhian gospel of right thought and right conduct? Is this non-violence or cowardice? Is it truth in action, or falsehood in disguise? I am afraid, we seem to be so panicky-anxious to wrest power from British hands that we are willing to agree to a dismemberment of the country and to allow a dagger to be driven into the heart of our homeland, so that we may be rid of the British. But of what use will independence be to a corpse, to an India where the Hindu will die by continual calls of Pakistan on the springs of life, and where the Muslim will die soon after.

DARK POWERS AT WORK

Pakistan will bring death to India, to Hindu and Muslim alike, and all talk of independence on the basis of fragmentation is nothing short of political and spiritual lunacy. I wish Gandhiji realized it, I wish Jinnah understood all the implications of his arbitrary demands. I am afraid, in spite of the great influence the two great leaders wield among large masses of men in the country, today both seem to be possessed by some evil power which is working to the detriment of India — Dark Powers have a way of tricking nations into traps and inflicting irreparable harm to them by occasionally seizing the souls of great leaders

and making them give a twist to the course of national d tiny In such critical moments the lives of nations every single individual in the nation who happens to glimpse the truth and has the courage to speak must come to the aid of the threatened Motherland — every Muslim Hindu, Christian Parsi, who believes in the past and future greatness of an undivided India, —every one must come forward to help in generating an irresistible counteracting force which will exorcise the Demon of Defeatist Dividism from the soul of India The process of disentanglement, of the tree of Indian nationalism from the vicious grip of the parasite of separatism, may be slow and hard It will certainly cause bruises to those courageous souls who undertake the hazardous task and to the tree itself but in the end the Hindu and Muslim alike will gain in vitality and share in the richness of life abounding — and then no power on earth can withhold from them their birth right of freedom

LET US FIGHT SATAN

Hindu and Muslims form one Indian nation and those whom the goods have united only a Satan will attempt to sever Let us therefore, fight Satan whether he operates in the shape of a Hindu or in the shape of a Muslim, and posterity will bless all those smaller men who lifted their Voices for a united India when their great leaders were about to betray the country into a dangerous snare. Let us all join to preserve the integrity of India and its destined fulfil-

ment of the world ideal of unity in diversity. Let us not turn our homeland into a vast graveyard as it will inevitably be if the principle of fragmentation on grounds of religion is accepted and acted upon.

4

IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

A correspondent, 'One Nation-wall' wrote in an important daily :

Well known for his jugglery with words, Mr. Jinnah in his latest statement tells us that he is not fighting the Hindus, but that struggle for Pakistan means freedom for both Hindus and Muslims. Even if it were so, Millions throughout India have grave doubts and misgivings regarding the Muslim League leaders' plans and professions. Will Mr. Jinnah, there fore, on the eve of his Victory Celebrations, please answer the following :

1. What are the territories of Pakistan and the percentages of Muslims and non-Muslims in each of the territories claimed ?

2. Muslims as a 'backward' community have been demanding (and getting) preferential rights and treatment. Will such preferences be conceded and given to Hindus, Sikhs, Budhists, Christians, and Harijans in Pakistan ?

3. Is the demand for Pakistan to seek political justice, equal economic opportunity and better education. or, is it a desire to dominate non-Muslims in

Pakistan ?

4 Will Pakistan have Islam as State Religion ? Or will it be a secular State ? If the State will have Islam as its official religion how do you guarantee freedom of religion to non Muslims ? The past history refutes any claims to such guarantee

5 Will Pakistan Government directly or indirectly encourage conversion of non Muslims to Islam and or 'vice versa' ? If through reconversion the Muslim population becomes a minority where will then Pakistan be ?

6 Will non-Muslims have the right to claim self-determination in Pakistan territories as you claim for Muslims in India ?

7 Is Pakistan to be created by the will of all the people in each of the territories claimed or only by the will of the Muslims living in each territory or by the will of all Muslims living all over India ?

8. If Muslims outside the claimed territories have no voice in creating Pakistan how is their opinion and clamour for it relevant to the issue ?

9 What system of Government you propose for Pakistan ? If Democracy define it as you propose to establish it ?

10 Will you permit political parties to be formed among Muslims and non-Muslims without any Governmental interference

11 Will there be adult (including women) franchise and joint-electoralates ?

12. Will the minorities have the status of State

tory Minorities and how do you propose to protect them ?

13. What would be Pakistan's relations with adjoining Muslim States ? Would you work for a pan-Islamic or pan-Arabic or pan-Iranian State ?

14. If a foreign Muslim State invaded Pakistan, would you accept their rule ? Would you fight them ?

15. What would be your attitude to Muslim minorities in Pakistan e. g., Ahirais, Shias, Momins & c.

16. What is Muslim Culture ? Is there such a thing as 'Indian Muslim Culture' ? Which of the two you consider is in danger ?

17. Why do you advocate Urdu as the language of Indian Muslims ?

18. What percentage of Indian Muslims know speak and read and write the high-flown Lucknow Urdu ? Please give figures Province-wise ?

19. Why not adopt Arabic as the language of the Indian Muslims, if you consider Islam in India must have its own language ?

20. Why have you chosen the provinces you claim ? Do they give you homogeneity ? Do you think that the average 45 per cent non-Muslim minority will make Pakistan safe ?

21. (a) If the 8 per cent Muslims in Hindustan will not have the treatment the 45 per cent non-Muslims would claim in Pakistan, what would you do to ensure reciprocity ?

(b) In order to achieve homogeneity would you

agree to withdraw all Muslims from Hindustan and force all non Muslims to leave Pakistan ?

5

MUSLIM LEAGUE FASCISM

If Muslim League wants to win sympathy of India and the world it must avoid fascist methods. Intimidation will not do good to the Muslim League in the long run. Pir Ali Muhammad Rashdi of Karachi describes — vivid colours as to how the non League Muslims are being persecuted by the League Muslims—

The Non-League Muslims have now for too long borne the Muslim League tyranny. Our patience is construed as our weakness. Formerly we were only slandered now we are being stabbed. In their mercy the High Command have granted us a ten days period of grace for joining the League or else we expose ourselves to an action under the Islamic Law — not the Islamic Law of Muhammad the Prophet but the Islamic Law of Muhammad Issa the Member of the League High Command. Under Muhammad's Law those who stabbed Shafaat Ahmed merited hell. Under Muhammad Issa's Penal Code they are heroes. In the Qaba, the cradle of Islam you can have four Mussalabs according to the "Islams" you follow but in India you must have only one 'Mussalah' the Mussalah of Mr Jinnah. In Egypt and Iran you can have as many parties as there are leaders to be followed but in India you must follow one single

individual, Mr Jinnah. In religious matters, you can dispute the very finality of Munammad's prophethood and yet be regarded as a Muslim; in politics you cease to be a Muslim the moment you fail to acknowledge Mr. Jinnah's monopoly of Muslim wisdom".

"The new concept of Muslim society and Muslim politics introduced by the Muslim League does not provide for any freedom of opinion. Even if you do have any doubts you must not express them, much less act on them. Or else the fate of Shafaat Ahmed if not that of Allah Bux, would overtake you. No one will argue with you; you are too small to be convinced. League does not waste its words or its time: it believes in 'Direct Action'".

"This is not Islamic Democracy where-in an old woman could pull the shirt of Omer the great and question his honesty. This is Nazism in its most degenerated and crude form. It is repugnant to the very basics of Islam and on that one ground alone, it merits utmost resistance. The more you put up with it the more damage you are causing to the cause of Islam. Who would join a religion, or a society, in which there is no freedom of thought? And that too in an enlightened age as the present one.

MUSLIM LEAGUE IDEOLOGY

To analyse the respective ideologies of the two main groups among Muslims, the Leaguers and the Non-Leaguers. The League once wanted Pakistan or Death; now happily it would be satisfied if you provided

five Leaguers with jobs in the centre and grouping in the Province. When it wanted Pakistan it aimed at vivisection of the Muslim nation into more than five hundred and fifty pieces, with possibly some imaginary suspension bridges to connect one bit with the other. Without a common centre Muslims would be divided into some 530 native states, seven Hindu and five Muslim Provinces, not to speak of the tribal and the excluded Areas. Or, even if Pakistan means one sovereign State and not Sovereign States within the terms of the Lahore resolution you can protect only less than 5 crores of Muslim population (with precarious majorities in their major provinces), leaving the remaining six crores, for all times, at the mercy of the Non-Muslims. The impact which a united nation of 10 crores could release in cases of emergency would not be there once it is Pakistanised.

That stand however, the League has of its own accord lately given up. Under its resolution of June 6 it has agreed to the postponement if not to the rejection of its fundamental principle of Pakistan its erstwhile article of faith. The subsequent Bombay performance is immaterial it only implies re-employment of the old sticks for beating the British and the Hindus after the promised price had not been paid. What is really material is its resolution of June 6, where-by it has agreed to grouping in lieu of Pakistan. Even this grouping from Muslim standpoint is equally obnoxious it must produce permanent strife between major and minor provinces between the Punjab and

the rest of the Provinces in the yoke, between Bengal and the small Province of Assam.

In neither of the schemes is there any provision for 'Hukumut 1-Ilahiyah'. For 'Hukumat-1-Illahiyah', though exploited in the course of the last Assembly elections, was hurriedly given a go-bye on the eve of the Delhi League Legislators' Convention of April last.

Thus, the entire boulderdash comprising the League ideology implies nothing more than grouping which promises us eternal internecine strife in return for the luxury of administering, on common basis, departments like P. W. D , Agriculture and Development.

NATIONALIST MUSLIMS' IDEOLOGY

As against that, the most outstanding and common feature of the political stand taken up by the Non-League Muslims is freedom of India and the consequential freedom of Islam from Calcutta to Constantinople. Once the Indian Market is gone, West would cease to corrupt, coerce, and interfere in the affairs of the countries on the route to India, which are all Muslim. The fight for Indian freedom is, from our standpoint, a fight for the freedom of the entire world of Islam from every kind of devastating un-Islamic influences, cultural, political, and ideological. And once that is done, it should not be difficult for the Islamic world again to come into its own.

These, in a nutshell, are the respective ideologies

of the League and Non League Muslims.

Then among the Non League Muslims you will find men who enjoy national, and in certain cases international reputation for their piety, erudition, services, and sacrifices, men who understand Islam and interpret Quran men who have spent major portions of their lives in jails and under untold privations for the sake of their convictions men who have permanently crippled themselves in the course of the ordeals they have gone through and men who want to give the Muslim masses the most honest and enlightened type of administration opposed to all kinds of exploitation, both at the centre and in the Provinces.

To compare this great galaxy of Muslim heroes with the fraternity monopolising the League is to do them great injustice. The latter have so far given no proofs of their courage of convictions or of their capacity to put in sacrifices. All we know is that hardly 5 per cent of the titled gentry in the League has relinquished titles in response to the appeal of the League organisation or that having once talked in terms of

Direct Action the league leaders are now trying to talk the very "Direct Action" out there are as many interpretations of it as there are men in the League to speak. That betrays nothing but mental confusion and lack of responsibility. A riot here or there, an assault on a Nationalist Muslim in Simla or elsewhere, cannot add to the stature of the League. On the contrary the League by such violent actions is landing the nation in a disaster and is inviting internal war-

fare between various sections of the Muslim community.

To my mind, an organisation which believes in narrow-mindedness, in Nazi methods, in persisting in its blunders and follies, and in exhausting all its strength and resources on terrorising and tyrannising over its own men (the Muslims), can have no future whatsoever. All that is needed is that those who are out of it must organise themselves and put up a joint show.

6

WHY PAKISTAN— AND WHY NOT ?

Here are some noteworthy points from the articles of K. T. Shah :—

The first question that is bound to confront the leaders when they meet to consider the main problem is whether or not the question they tackle is to be considered on the background of an independent India, free from any power or control over her affairs by any outside authority; or an India connected and dependent, however remotely or imperceptibly, with the present alien domination. So far as one can read the published statements on either side, the Congress leader seems to make the immediate Independence of India as the first consideration. It is a subsequent question whether the country itself elects to remain united and integral, or whether it decides to be partitioned by its own act of volition. Integrity of the country, or its partition as desired by the Muslim League, is apparen-

tly a secondary consideration to Gandhiji. The first problem is to secure her independence. On the other hand to the League leader it is the most important—the only—problem which matters probably and which must be settled first. The former will therefore insist upon agreement on the issue of national independence from British domination; the latter would emphasise separation of the Muslim majority areas from their Hindu neighbours so as to assure a chance of real autonomy and self expression for the Muslims of India. It may be only a difference of degree but the matter is sufficiently important to point out lest at the very first step, there might be an irremovable obstacle.

WHO SHALL SEPARATE - AND HOW ?

The next decision to be taken by the free vote of the people in exercise of the Right of self-Determination would be whether this country is to remain integral as it is today from the Cape to Kashmir from Baluchistan to the Bay of Bengal or whether it is to be split up into two or more divisions, according to the religious professions of the majority of the population in certain areas. Obviously if the decision were left to a majority vote of the entire people of India there would be no doubt as to the verdict. The decision must accordingly be left to the peoples immediately affected in accordance with the basic meaning and implications of the Right to Self Determination. But even so the present population of

the areas likely to be affected is a mixed one. The Muslim majority in Bengal and the Punjab does not exceed 5 per cent and nor all Muslims can be presumed to desire partition. If the decision is to be by the simple majority of these persons,—the adults among them,—the aspirations of the majority community in those areas may quite possibly not be realised. And whether these aspirations are realised or not will the problem of communal minority be solved by this device or reduplicated. On the other hand, those affected by such a decision are not only the existing majority community, but the entire population, who have their property, occupation, relations and connections all located there in the regions of their habitation. Must they be taken to be entirely voiceless, merely because of the accident of their birth, or the profession of their faith? Even if guarantees are provided for all their fundamental rights in the constitution, they may not want to live in the same region which they once inhabited and enriched, now that it is to be separated from the common motherland. The repercussions, moreover, of such a decision may involve compensation for those who do not elect to stay in a territory, frankly carved out on the basis of religious professions which they do not share. Arrangements must, therefore, be made for not only their transport and resettlement in areas where they feel in more congenial surroundings, but also for their compensation for any loss or abandonment of property, occupation and connections which they

have to give up in the land of their original habitation and domicile. Even if the right to free movement and settlement as between the several parts of the country is premised and guaranteed some machinery will have to be devised to facilitate initial redistribution of the population following upon a territorial and political reconstruction of the country based on religious lines. Will the leaders consider such matters or will they leave them to be settled by some future authority?

PERCENTAGE FOR PLEBISCITE TO GIVE VALID DECISION

The question of the proportion of vote which is validly to decide the main issue of partition—even if it is agreed that the right to such vote is to be restricted to a given community and even if it is concomitantly conditioned by the provision of facility for the dissenters to secede from such rearrangement,—will be the next serious hurdle for the leaders. If this decision is left only to a simple majority of the community desirous of seceding in a district with barely 51 per cent of that community it is possible that less than 36 per cent of the total population may impose their will upon 74 per cent of the rest of their fellow citizens. This is not a mere right of the Minority, but an abuse of its weakness.

The League resolutions on this subject do contemplate territorial rearrangement in existing units with Muslim majority in the aggregate population and so one

feels justified to assume that a redistribution as between the Muslim and non-Muslim majority areas, within the existing units of the Punjab and Bengal would be premised, even in the basic formula for partition. But if this principle is given effect to in its entirety, and carried to its logical conclusion, the boundary line may have to be drawn in many cases in the middle of some districts, and even of some villages within a district, in the existing provincial units. That would disrupt the natural economy of those regions, whose consequences may not have been envisaged in all their grimness by those considering only the letter of the formula. Assuming that there would be no such *reductio ad absurdum* in practice, given mutual goodwill, if the main formula is agreed to, the question of the persons voting, and the proportion of the actual majority validly deciding the issue of separation or integrity, will still remain. As a matter of political equity and social justice, it seems that unless 51 per cent of the aggregate population in any area decide to separate, no such separation should be agreed to in those Provinces. To achieve that end, voting on the plebiscite,—even if confined to the Muslims—should require a 3/4 majority in the areas with at least two-thirds of the population being Muslims. This, in practice, may render the scope for realising the League ideal very limited; but that seems to be the only just basis for a decision by plebiscite on such an issue, which must affect generations yet unborn

SOVEREIGNTY UNDER SECESSION

The question of the Sovereignty of the seceding, as well as the remaining, areas will have next to be dealt with. Is each of the existing unit with a Muslim majority if it decides to separate from the existing unit called India, to be a new Sovereign State? Or must the seceders, form themselves into some sort of a new federation or confederation of their own after separation? Even on the latter hypothesis, there will have to be set up at least two Muslim Federations as against very likely one solid non Muslim bloc. This is a question of interest and concern not only to the seceders. The remainders will have to deal for all the matters that continue to be of common concern notwithstanding such partition, with the successors of the present Government in those parts and so they are entitled to know whether they would have to deal with one sovereign unit two or more.

The amalgamation of the partitioning units into a new federation, or confederation will also be concerned with the question of the division distribution of sovereignty as between the centre and the units — a problem which may not be quite so serious with the Remainders after the secession of the Muslims.

And finally, there is the question of the External Limitation of Local Sovereignty, — whether in the Federation of Muslim States and non Muslims, or in unitary, independent sovereign states, set up by partition as apparently contemplated by the League

Resolution. Obviously, Treaty obligations, if any are incurred at the time of Britain parting with power, may constitute one such limitation, while the Guaranteed Rights of Minorities, might necessitate another. The Problem of the Indian States is an issue by itself, which will be considered later. The two sections, moreover,—Muslim and non-Muslim States of India so divided,—may also enter into special Treaties or Agreements which may radically affect their several Sovereignty, and authority to deal even with their own local matters. At the same time, there is the possibility of a World State being set up after the war and India will have to live in this world. What will be the reaction of such a development on India partitioning herself, when there are proposals in the air for Britain and U.S.A. to amalgamate? Will the Leaders consider this aspect of the problem?

CHAPTER IV

HINDUISM AND ISLAM

Hinduism and Islam are but two different paths leading to one and the same goal of material and spiritual happiness. In the much too perverted surroundings today religion which should have been a medicine for mankind has in its life become a malady, at once the most chronic and the most acute.

1

RELIGION AND POLITICS

Dr Kuldip Chand Bedi has written the following interesting and instructive article on the subject -

The word religion itself suggests prejudices, emotions, fancies hopes—everything except facts—in the mind of nearly everyone who believes in a religion. It is an intensely personal experience. Politics as the clearing of the ground for the growth of personality, is itself entirely impersonal. The two, therefore are, and must remain, distinct. Both are valid in their respec-

tive spheres, invalid when they trespass into each other's territory. For then either religion would have to subordinate itself to the interests of the state, or the state would tend to become a vast missionary organisation—conditions of life, both of which are undesirable. In fact, religion ceases to be a moral force, which it must be if it is true and if it is to endure, when it lends its aid and protection to those who, with its power and majesty want self aggrandisement in the world. It no longer remains a divinely inspired message, but becomes a crude philosophy of selfishness and mischief.

Religion is a matter of conscience and provides an atmosphere in which matters of conscience are not endangered. It should not be allowed to obtrude itself, at the instance of anyone, into the field of politics, which, if done would degrade it. It appears that in the present Indian life the leaders of different religions, to ensure their free worship, want religion to override political life itself, forgetting, what, indeed, is essential for freedom, that we can be religious and, at the same time, conscious of our common, definite purposes, of our inevitable common destiny,

It is true that vague complaints and equally vague admonitions to complainants would not solve the problem. But strangely enough some of the important leaders in India rather use religion as affording an excellent opportunity for self-importance, than for the increase of justice among men in all their relations. The field for the cultivation of the spirit of co-operation between the various communities is

immense, but the skill of those who have assumed the responsibility of cultivating it is inadequate, in fact lacking for the greater part. They have not even the elementary knowledge of the facts of commonness and strive to undo whatever commonness has in the long even though chequered history of this country been achieved by the strenuous efforts of the only Nationalist Organisation in India

INTOXICATION OF POWER

These people who style themselves as communal leaders and receive homage as such from often the ignorant and the fanatic ought some-times to display a ready even intense religious emotion. Yet these are the people who know very little about their religions and still less about others and they would even for a modest selfish advantage callously sacrifice the interests of their co-religionists. They are successful at the moment because they know how to play upon simple credulous minds how to influence them for a sinister purpose their own leadership and how to keep up that mass hysteria of fanaticism by repeating the notorious cry of their religion being in danger. Thus they excite and have in fact excited their co-religionists almost to a state of frenzy, which we may call religious madness that brings these poor people nothing but their so-called leaders the intoxication of power. The promised millenium never dawn*!

We therefore must distrust our communal leaders

They want us to forget, much less strive for, that brotherhood of Indians, which consists not merely in the spiritual unity of all men but also in the close association that there is among individuals and their mutual inter-actions.

A great stir has been caused in the Indian political situation because of the recent resolutions of the Muslim League withdrawing from the Constituent Assembly. Their fear is that their limited strength and still more limited influence in the forth-coming Constituent Assembly would tend to oust their self-opinionated misconceptions. The cry of 'Islam in danger' is unsound both logically and historically, indeed as unsound as the demand for Pakistan and the formation for political purposes of parties on religious lines, for both of which the responsibility lies with the leader of the League. Both these preclude that imaginative sympathy which, without being either humanitarian or condescending, involves the just appreciation of the rights and obligations of others as members of society. Why should the Leaguer presume that the other communities, when in power or in a majority, would utilize their position to the detriment of the Moslems? Is religion always to guide the conduct or thoughts of individuals in this country? Must the pernicious theories that the so-called leaders drill into our lives last us to the end of our days? Must we always be characterised by the strength of the narrow-minded—a sort of obstinacy? Cannot

we die for a new principle — the principle of nationalism ?

NATIONALISM — A RELIGION

Nationalism is a religion far more vital and eternal than mere Hinduism or Islam. It is the most powerful religion in the world to day. It may be a degraded form of Polytheism but, nevertheless as a determinant of individual action in the state it must be supreme. And we in India whether Hindu or Muslim, are utterly irreligious in this sense ! The development of nationalism is necessary in this country before we can ever have national self-respect and inter-national standing. But the nationalism we want is, not the exaggerated militant nationalism of the Nazi or the Fascist but, a nationalism, pacifist and progressive not the nationalism of the fanatic nor even the inertia of the self-satisfied. We want the entire population of this country influenced neither by the zeal of the one nor by the language of the other. We want a stable self-reliant population which will refuse to work on any other basis than of the co-operation of the individuals as individuals — not of Moslems as Moslems nor of Hindus as Hindus — all working for the common good. That can come about only if we disclaim once for all organisations based on religious lines and wanting to divide up India on a religious basis.

It seems clear that religion in some form or the other, has tended to atrophy the external conditions of

the life of a section of the Moslems in India by becoming the instrument in the hands of some leaders who have arrogated to themselves the task of prescribing for them what mind, what will, what character and what outlook on politics they must have. Religion, therefore, among some in this country has over-emphasised its point of view; and the leaders have failed to realise that religion though it may, and in fact does, have a purpose it is a distinct and vastly different purpose from that of politics. It is an instrument through which grace is obtained; or it may be regarded as a step in the progress of the soul towards the divine creator. It must not be used, as is being done, by the leaders to further their own mundane interests by creating jealousies or hatred or degraded to serve in the childish rivalry for political power. The ideas of different religions should be interpreted and utilized in terms of social morality, so that religion just as it serves the individual soul to transcend the limitations of matter, should also serve the body politic in giving it richness and fulness and make our country great and its inhabitants respected.

The ideals and the activities of the two major communities are not contradictory, but complementary; and the leaders of these communities must promote, if truly patriotic, and not hinder, the interchange of ideas and services which the Indian National Congress has strenuously, for more than fifty years, tried to build up. The primitiveness of the segregation of the religious communities on a territorial basis is too obvious to need

comment. We are a great people but sorely stricken and deeply humiliated. We want to be inspired by a fresh faith and fresh hope and we want to be led, not by a sectarian Moslem or Hindu leadership, but by one wholly and solely Indian. Otherwise India will continue to be the sporting ground of foreign imperialists, and exploited in their interest. It is those leaders who should be the first to want India occupying a respectable and dignified place in the society of nations, restored as it were in to her own and they must, therefore, realise that religion and politics, each has its own place. Let them not in religious zeal or the giddiness of leadership spurn the counsels of prudence and caution. They have now a rare opportunity of making India a free country, and let them not, therefore allow it to slip in quarrelling over the spoils of office. They should spare themselves the guilt of wrecking India's future at the altar of their individual self-interest.

2

HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY SCHEME

We publish below an English translation of the correspondence in Urdu between the late Raja Narendra Nath and Dr Syed Mahmud on the problem of Hindu-Muslim unity. Raja Sahib's last letter to Dr Mahmud was written 2 or 3 days before his death.

Dr Syed Mahmud while releasing the letter of the late Raja Narendra Nath to the Press, says, 'For

some months we had been discussing the vital problem of Hindu-Muslim Unity, by correspondence. In my last letter to the late Raja Narendra Nath, I expressed my anxiety over the disruptive tendencies operating in India. I asked him, 'Why are we Indians always trying to condemn one another? Is it the effect of climate or is it due to some fundamental defect in our social system?' Here is the letter, which he wrote two days before his death in reply to my questions "

Dr. Mahmud adds: — 'I showed Raja Sahib's letter to Gandhiji. He was very much impressed by it Gandhiji and I were very sad when we received the news of the death of Raja Sahib the next day. Gandhiji asked me to get Raja Narendra Nath's letter published in the Press and remarked, 'I believe that this letter will prove to be our greatest inheritance from Raja Sahib.' Both Hindus and Muslims have a lesson to learn from it.

"I consider the harmonious social and cultural relations between Hindus and Muslims, which subsisted in medieval India, to be essential even to-day. During the past few years, I have written several books in English and Urdu on the subject, but, in view of the vitiated atmosphere in the country, I did not think it proper to publish them. The late Raja Narendra Nath's historic letter has again encouraged me and I may publish the manuscripts on some suitable occasion."

In the course of a letter to Shrimati Rameshwari Nehru, Dr. Mahmud says, "I had an ardent desire

to visit Lahore and spend a few days in the exalting company of Raja Sahib and derive some benefit from his mature wisdom But alas my wish was dashed

Raja Sahib's Letter to Dr Mahmud

My dear Dr Syed Mahmud,

I am in receipt of your letter dated January 3, 1945 Thank you very much The kind sentiments you have expressed regarding me are a reflection of your large-heartedness. I am indeed, sailing in a boat which is hardly destined to reach its goal

The problem of Hindu Muslim relations is undoubtedly a thorny problem I have been devoting concentrated thought to it for a long time You perhaps know that I spent a considerable part of my life in Government service, including the 21 years spent in the Executive line. My Hindu friends used to complain that I was partial to Mussal mans in the discharge of my administrative duties and in my defence I used to quote the example of Moghul Kings like Akbar I used to argue that on account of the liberal policy pursued by Akbar, Abbas the Shah of Persia accused him of having contravened the precepts of Islam I have not seen the original copy of Shah Abbas's letter but this letter is reproduced in Abul Fazal's records. Abul Fazal says that the people generally have no intelligence to grasp the intrinsic merits of policies. I have been pondering over the communal problem for the last 50 years I have not known of a better solution of the Hindu Muslim question than the one that struck me at the

very outset - I have tried to act on this solution. People aver that it is no good, but I am not prepared to accept their objections as valid. My solution is exactly the same to which you have yourself briefly referred—namely, cultural harmony and unity. I am surprised that this solution has not commended itself to Gandhiji and his friends. They have been considering the question of Hindu-Muslim unity for over 25 years. If this solution had struck them in good time, a tremendous revolution in the cultural and social atmosphere of the country would have taken place by now. Gandhiji has been trying to create unity only in the political sphere and he has not been successful. Nobody can deny that his whole being is saturated with sentiments of nationalism and patriotism. But probably he is not fully aware of all the social tendencies which operated in the past. He was born in a Hindu State and his father occupied a high position in that State. His environments were free from all those evils which are now found in our country. My revered father, was a scholar of Persian and Arabic, though he was a Hindu. He was an unflinching believer in all those doctrines which were considered the fundamentals of Hinduism in his time. At the same time he had intimacy with a large number of educated and cultured Muslims, including the late Sir Sikandar Hayat's father.

In 1937, I moved a resolution in the Punjab Legislative Assembly which was, however, rejected. People did not appreciate its implications. Some of

those who opposed the resolution then expressed their repentance to me later on ' How was it that cordial relations subsisted between Hindus and Muslims in the past ? The reason is not far to seek Besides there being political unity there was cultural harmony because the Hindus of the Punjab U P and Bihar in fact the whole of Northern India used to master the Persian language and grasp through its medium the essentials of Islam Thus they learnt to respect the sentiments of their Muslim brethren

If you carefully study the Hindu and Islamic philosophies you will find that the two philosophies differ in regard to only one point The Hindus are pantheistic in their outlook and believe that the Universe and the Creation are His divine expression The Muslims, on the other hand are monotheistic in their attitude and believe that God is distinct from the Universe which is created by him The abovementioned belief of the Hindus is the basic reason for their idol Worship But the Hindus did believe in the oneness of God Alberuni who visited India in the days of Mahmood Ghaznavi and who learnt Sanskrit to study Hindu culture, has recorded that the upper classes of Hindus had a firm belief in the oneness of God Dara Shikoh made a careful study of the Upanishadas and produced a translation in the form of a book called The confluence of Two Streams He has expressed the view that the oneness of God has been as strongly emphasised in the Upanishadas as in the Quran

After a great deal of deliberation I have evolved a scheme for the promotion of Hindu-Muslim harmony and unity. The crux of my scheme is as follows:—
(1) In all the Universities, the study of comparative theology as a part of philosophy and political science should be made compulsory.

(2) A fund of one crore of rupees should be raised which can easily bring a substantial interest at the rate of 4 per cent per annum. Thus a permanent income of Rs 4 lakhs can be ensured. This should be distributed equally amongst all the 11 provinces of India. Each province will in this manner have about Rs. 30000 at its disposal every year. This sum should be divided into 9 parts. Out of these, scholarships should be given to 3 such Hindus as specialise in Persian, Arabic or Urdu; and 3 to such Muslims as devote themselves to the study of Hindi and Sanskrit. The remaining 3 scholarships should be awarded to such Hindus and Muslims as master Urdu, Hindi, Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit languages.

It is not difficult to acquire a good knowledge of Persian, Arabic, Sanskrit, Urdu or Hindi. Here is the story of my education. My father gave me education in Sanskrit and Persian simultaneously. At a later stage I learnt Arabic too. Though I have a fairly good knowledge of Persian and Urdu, I am not ignorant of Arabic and Sanskrit. The study of these oriental languages did not in any way interfere with my study of the English language and literature. I passed the Matriculation examination at the age of

16 the B A examination at the age of 20 and the M A examination at the age of 21

Some time ago I read a report in newspapers to the effect that the Government of India had sanctioned a sum of 10 lakhs of rupees to promote communal harmony. The Punjab Government devotes a lakh of rupees every year to this cause. This money should be spent in giving prizes to such Mohammedans as write on the contribution made by Hindus to human knowledge and also to such Hindus who dilate upon the contribution made by Mohammedans to human knowledge. People wrongly regard Mahmud of Ghaznavi and other idol breakers as the representatives of Islamic culture. Unfortunately we are ignorant of the golden deeds of true Muslims like Imam Ghazali and Ibn Khaldun. Even some enlightened Mussalmans imagine that Hindus are mere idol worshippers and consider that they are superior beings. They do not know what great heights the Hindus had reached in the realms of Medicine, Mathematics, Philosophy and Science.

I however confess that no communal harmony movement by itself can be effective unless it is reinforced by an appropriate amendment of our political plans on democratic lines. At least joint electorates should be immediately enforced. This cannot obviously be done unless Mahatma Gandhi undertakes the task. One crore is nothing, larger sums can be easily collected if Mahatma Gandhi plans to conduct the Hindu Muslim unity movement on the lines on which I

want it to be conducted. You will place me, in fact the entire country, under a heavy debt of gratitude if you will persuade Mahatma Gandhi to turn to this work. Before an endeavour is made to establish political unity among our countrymen the atmosphere necessary for its establishment must be created. Political independence is not the essential pre-requisite of the attainment of Hindu-Muslim unity and much in the sphere of Hindu-Muslim unity can be achieved even under the present circumstances and even before the British quit India.

Kindly show my letter to Mahatma Gandhi and let me know what he thinks of my scheme.

Whatever I have said in reply to the Sapru Committee's questionnaire need not be acted upon at once. But, as I have said, the immediate enforcement of joint electorates is absolutely essential.

When you present my letter to Mahatma Gandhi kindly recite this couplet of Josh Malihabadi to him:—

Everybody is distracted and dazed,

Whom shall I approach ?

Every soul is wrapped up in gloom,

From whom shall I seek light ?

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) Natendra Nath.

P. S —If Gandhiji accepts my scheme, then after raising the necessary fund he will have to establish a board of trustees to work out its details

ISLAM AND HUMAN BROTHERHOOD

Prof Abdul Majid wrote the following essay on the brotherhood of Islam —

It is admittedly difficult to define things, and to give the real significance of Religion is an extremely uphill task as the subject of Religion has caused endless controversy in the world. Nevertheless, it is always better to clarify the connotation of terms one is going to use while discussing important themes. What we imply by Islam is clearly set down in the Holy Quran. It is entire submission to the will of God—

Whosoever submits his whole self to God and is a doer of good—he will get his reward with his Lord on such shall be no fear nor shall they grieve. — Surah 2 Verse 112.

The Religion before God is Islam (complete Submission to His Will)— Surah 3 Verse 19

Do they seek for other than the Religion of God?

While all creatures in the heaven and on earth have willing or unwilling bowed to His Will, (accepted Islam) and to Him shall they all return, —Surah 3 Verse 83.

In a way God's Truth is manifest sane and sensible creatures accept with joy all that is true good and beautiful. Even when there is 'disease in the heart and judgment is warped by prejudice passion

or perversity, every human being must eventually acknowledge God and His power. All nature adores God and Islam asks for nothing peculiar; it insists that we should all follow our better nature and thus make our will conformable to God's Will, as seen in nature, history and revelation. Islam's message is universal.

"Ye are the best of peoples evolved for Mankind; enjoining what is right, forbidding what is wrong, and believing in God."—Surah 3; Verse 110. The final stage in the evolution of religious history is essentially a non-sectarian, non-racial, non doctrinal, world-wide religion, which Islam claims to be. For Islam is entire submission to the Will of God. In other words, it means faith in an Omnipotent, Omniscient and Omnipresent God and doing right, being an example to others to do right and avoiding wrong, being an example to others to shun wrong and having the power to see that wrong and injustice are defeated. Islam, therefore, has a gripping appeal for the whole mankind.

"The same religion has been established for you as that which He enjoined on Noah, that which We have sent by inspiration to thee, and that which we enjoined on Abraham, Moses and Jesus, namely that ye remain steadfast in Religion and make no divisions therein."—Surah 42: Verse 13.

God's religion is the same in essence, whether given to Noah Abraham, Moses and Jesus or to Muhammad. The source of unity is the revelation from God. Faith and Duty-Religion, and it is not at

all a matter of dispute. The formation of sects militates against the essence of Religion. What we are enjoined to strive for, is steadfastness in duty and faith and fostering unity among humanity.

"Now then, call them to the Faith and stand steadfast as thou art commanded, nor follow their vain desires, but say 'I believe in the Book which God has sent down and I am commanded to judge justly between you. God is our Lord and your Lord. For us is the responsibility for our deeds for you for your deeds. There is no contention between you and us?' — Surah 42 Verse 15

The mission of Islam is beautifully commended in this verse. The more sectarianism and division there is in the world the greater is the need for the gospel of Unity and the preaching thereof must be steadfastly pursued. The God whom Islam preaches is not an exclusive God. He is the Lord of Worlds to any person of whatever creed. "He is your God as well as mine. Faith is not a question of words theological doctrines cannot eclipse truth: it is deeds which decide. Each one of us has personal responsibility for his conduct. There is no cause of disputation whatsoever, when we preach Unity, Truth and the Hereafter. If you have misgivings and doubts, the ultimate judge and the final arbiter is God and His White Throne is our goal.

Islam is rigidly and ruggedly monotheistic therefore, those who believe in the oneness of God, cannot but put faith on the Unity of Mankind or Human

"And people are not but a single nation."—Surah 1 : Verse 19 All mankind was created one and God's message to humanity is primarily one, the message of unity and the gospel truth. But as selfishness and vanity got hold of man, certain differences sprang up between individuals, nations and races on God in His infinite mercy sent them messages through His Messengers—prophets and 'avtars', to suit their varying mentality.

"Mankind was but one single nation and God sent messengers with glad tidings and warnings."—Surah 2: Verse 213.

"O people be careful of your duty to your Lord, Who created its mate of the same kind and spread from these, too many men and women." — Surah 4 : Verse 1.

"O Mankind; We have created you of a male and a female and made you tribes and families, that you may know each other."—Surah 49 : Verse 13.

This is addressed to all mankind. Tribes, races and nations are but convenient Labels by which we may know certain differing characteristics. Before God they are all one and he is most honourable who is most righteous.

"He, i.e. God, created you all from a single person, then created of like nature his mate"—Sura 39: Verse 6. The teaching we gave through all the prophets was this: "Of yours verily, is a single brotherhood of people, there are no separate religions and no separate groups.

and I am the single Lord and Cherisher of all; therefore, worship me only But people created divisions among themselves, cut their one Religion into little bits. In the end, all have to return to us. Therefore, remember this is the truth whosoever does deeds of righteousness and has faith in God, his endeavour will not be in vain We are there to record his right deeds — Surah 21 Verses 92 94

So far only the Quranic verses have been cited in support of the theme that I lam is a Universal religion it is a gospel of global goodwill and a message of world wide unity Next to the Holy Qura'n, the Hadith—the sayings of the Holy Prophet Mohammad are considered as authoritative pronouncements, regarding various problems and questions. When asked "What is Islam?" The Holy Prophet Muhammad said "Abstinence and Obedience to God" Further asked "What is one of the most excellent virtues of Iman (faith) ?" He remarked, "An amiable disposition

What is Islam ? some one inquired The Holy Prophet Muhammad observed, "Purity of speech and charity

"What actions are most excellent ? The Holy prophet Muhammad said "To gladden the heart of a human being to help the afflicted to lighten the sorrow of the sorrowful and to remove the wrongs of the injured

In the sphere of belief, Islam enjoins equal respect for the founders of various faiths, and equal reverence for their messages The idea of attaching varying degrees

of divinity to different prophets, is entirely foreign to the true spirit of Islam, because in final analysis, religion is one. Hence glorification of God and service of humanity are its two fundamentals, so all good Muslims emphasize increasingly the vital importance of human brotherhood.

4

MESSAGE OF GURU NANAK

Sooner or later we shall have to follow the teachings of Guru Nanak who combined Hinduism and Islam in a practical way. He declared that he was neither a Hindu nor a Muslim but rather a Man. His vigorous message of unity was accepted by thousands of Hindus and Muslims and they followed him ardently. What India really needs today is a man of the zest and zeal of Guru Nanak. Mahatma Gandhi, who was immensely fitted for this task, has somehow failed to achieve the desired purpose.

Jawaharlal said once that the real prophets of today are the great ideas that move the Masses. The ideas of Guru Nanak still survive and echo themselves through the citizens of India at home and abroad.

"India has differences but what country in the world is without its differences ? Ours is a vast country and, therefore, it is natural that we should

have many languages but please remember the Indians are essentially a united people despite their many languages and creeds said Sir Aziz ul-Haque, High Commissioner for India in London replying to the reception by the British Council in Liverpool.

The High Commissioner recently undertook a tour of the north west towns of England and visited the Bevin boys undergoing training in various factories. He was entertained to lunch by the Indians in Manchester and Liverpool. The Lord Mayors of Manchester and Chester also gave luncheon and dinner respectively to him and the British Council held a civic reception in Liverpool where the city's Lord Mayor welcomed Sir Aziz-ul-Haque who during his three days tour made a score of speeches, striking a note of independence and frankness.

At the British Council reception in Liverpool the Lord Mayor observed "Sir Aziz-ul-Haque's must be a formidable task in representing a country like India where the people profess so many religions and speak so many languages — something like two hundred

The High Commissioner was quick in his reply and said "Ye India has differences but what country in the world is without its differences? Ours is a vast country and therefore it is natural that we should have many languages but please remember Indians are essentially a united people despite their many languages and creeds

Sir Aziz-ul-Haque frankly told me: I am

neither a Hindu nor a Mus' m. I am here as an Indian to represent India. It has become a fashion in this country, he added, to describe India as the land of diverse creeds, races and languages. Be he the Secretary of State speaking in the Commons or the Lord Mayor, this fact of India's diversity is dinned into the listener's ears."

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